DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 287 323 FL 016 980

AUTHOR	Otanes, Fe T., Ed.; Hale, Austin, Ed.
TITLE	Studies in Philippine Linguistics, Volume 6, Number 2, 1986.
INSTITUTION	Linguistic Society of the Philippines, Manila.
PUB DATE	86
NOTE	235p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC10 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Articulation (Speech); Contrastive Linguistics; Dialects; Foreign Countries; *Intergroup Relations; *Language Attitudes; *Linguistic Theory; *Phonology; Questionnaires; *Sociolinguistics; Structural Analysis (Linguistics); Tagalog; *Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS	*Philippines

ABSTRACT

Three linguistic studies of Philippine languages are presented. In "Sociolinguistic Survey of Bantoanon" by M. Ruth Gordon and Heather J. Kilgour, sociolinguistic methods were used to study the Bantoanon area of northwest Ramblon province to learn how the Bantoanon people feel about their language and where its linguistic center is. "Survey Methods and Their Insights into the Acceptability of Literature among Related Varieties" by Michael P. Downey addresses the problem presented when speakers of one dialect reject literature prepared in a closely related dialect. The setting is the Mayoyao municipality of Ifugao Province in northern Luzon. "A Reconstruction of Proto-Southern Mindanaon" by T. Dale Savage reconstructs the phonology of Proto-Southern Mindanaon, the hypothetical common parent language of Koronadal Blaan, Sarangani Blaan, and Tboli, and tests the assumption that the three daughter languages are related. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
E. Hale

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Studies in Philippine Linguistics is a joint venture undertaken by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics devoted to the timely publication of papers of an empirical or theoretical nature which contribute to the study of language and communicative behavior in the Philippines. A certain proportion of the papers published will be penultimate versions of works of special interest to the Philippine linguistic community destined for further publication in more final form elsewhere.

Linguists engaged in the study and description of Philippine languages are hereby invited to submit contributions for inclusion in this series.

The editors wish to express appreciation to Kenneth Zook for his work in developing the programs used in the computer-assisted editing of this volume.

Single issue selling price: US $6.00

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

Editors
Fe T. Otanes
Austin Hale

Managing Editor
Helen Miller

Volume Editor
Richard Gieser

VOLUME 6 1986 NUMBER 2

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

Manila

ISSN 0116-0516
ISBN 971-1059-03-7

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction v

Sociolinguistic Survey of Bantoanon 1
M. Ruth Gordon and Heather J. Kilgour

Survey Methods and their Insights into the Acceptability of Literature among Related Varieties 94
Michael P. Downey

A Reconstruction of Proto-Southern Mindanaon 181
T. Dale Savage

INTRODUCTION

In this issue of Studies in Philippine Linguistics, three papers are presented: two in the general area of sociolinguistic survey and one in comparative linguistics.

Although both Gordon and Kilgour's and Downey's papers can be classified as sociolinguistic in orientation and also as survey in general purpose, each paper is different from the other.

In Gordon and Kilgour's survey, sociolinguistic methods were used to study a language area--in this case the Bantoanon area in northwest Romblon Province--with the purpose of learning, among other things, how viable the language is, how the Bantoanon people feel about their language, and where the linguistic center of the language is.

An example of the kind of finding Gordon and Kilgour made is this:

> The island of Banton ... is the linguistic centre of the [Bantoanon] language area and that island is thought by the people to be the area where the 'best' Bantoanon is spoken.

Thus, Gordon and Kilgour's is the kind of survey that is necessary prior, for example, to the initiation of a literature project in a given language area.

In contrast, Downey describes the kind of survey that should be conducted in order to learn whether or not a literature project already initiated in a given dialect had been most strategically placed.

In his paper, Downey addresses the problem presented by the rejection by speakers of one dialect of literature that had been prepared in a closely related dialect. The setting of Downey's study was in Ifugao Province in northern Luzon, specifically in Mayoyao Municipality, where the speakers of the Mayoyao dialect would not read literature that had been prepared in the closely related Batad dialect.

Thus, one contribution of Downey's study is that it has brought out the importance, before a literature project is begun, of taking into account not only linguistic similarity between related dialects but also sociolinguistic factors that bear on, for example, the acceptability of literature across dialect boundaries.

The third paper in this issue is another contribution by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics to the comparative picture in the Philippines. Specifically, Savage provides us with a reconstruction of Proto-Southern Mindanaon, of which Koronadal Blaan, Sarangani Blaan, and Tboli--three languages spoken in southern Mindanao--are daughter languages. Savage points out that, in distinction from other Philippine languages, these languages have seven vowels in their phonological systems, and they also have initial consonant clusters.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF BANTOANON

M. Ruth Gordon and Heather J. Kilgour
Summer Institute of Linguistics

1. Introduction
1.1 Present language use
1.2 Profiles
1.3 Predicted changes in language use
1.4 This dialect survey
1.5 Conclusion
2. General information
2.1 Language classification
2.2 Location of the language area
2.3 Number and distribution of Bantoanon speakers
2.4 Socioeconomic base of the Bantoanon language area
2.5 Neighbouring languages
2.6 Technical work in related languages
2.7 Churches and missions in the area
2.8 Schools in the area
2.9 Government agencies
3. Present language use
3.1 The sociolinguistic survey
3.2 Languages known
3.3 Use of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English compared
3.4 Profile of an 'influential' Bantoanon
3.5 Profile of a Bantoanon who would have difficulty with literature in Tagalog
3.6 Comparison of the profiles of resident Bantoanon 'islanders' and 'Tablasans'
4. Attitudes toward languages
4.1 Attitude toward and use of Bantoanon
4.2 Attitude toward and use of Tagalog
4.3 Attitude toward and use of English
4.4 Attitude toward and use of neighbouring languages
5. Predicted changes in language use
5.1 Profile of a Bantoanon 'trend-setter'
5.2 Actual use of language by 'trend-setters'
5.3 Looking to the children
5.4 Predicted changes in language use
6. This sociolinguistic dialect survey
6.1 Aims
6.2 Procedures
6.3 The opinion of the people
6.4 Results
7. Summary
Notes
Appendix A: Maps
Appendix B: Tree diagrams

Appendix C: The sociolinguistic survey
Appendix D: The lexicostatistical study
Appendix E: Accessibility and transportation
Appendix F: Possible allocation sites
Selected bibliography

1. Introduction

The aims of this survey[1] were to determine people's attitudes toward the Bantoanon language, its current usage, and possible future trends in use of the language. It could then be determined whether there would be a market for Bantoanon literature or whether the needs of this speech community could be met by literature in other prestigious languages such as Filipino,[2] the Philippine national language; Hiligaynon,[3] which was used historically in politics and education in the area; or Romblomanon,[4] which is spoken in the provincial capital. This information would indicate whether or not translation personnel should be assigned to the area. There would also be some indication as to the best location for the placement of such personnel if such an assignment should be made.

Zorc 1977 is a reliable and authoritative source of linguistic information on Bisayan dialects. With regard to Bantoanon, this survey did not contradict his data and conclusions, but rather supported and complemented them. Further, our findings support both the classification he makes of Bantoanon as a Bisayan language and the genetic distinction he makes between Bantoanon and the other Bisayan languages spoken in Romblon Province, namely, Romblomanon, Looknon, and Hiligaynon (Zorc 1977:30-32, 267ff. Cf. 2.1 and Appendix B, 1).

The general social and sociolinguistic information on which this paper is based comes from the extensive data gathered in the 1975 census of the Philippines. This census gives figures in such areas as population, occupations, and advanced education. Other general information, regarding neighbouring languages, denominations, churches and missions, schools and colleges, and medical facilities, comes from the survey data we have gathered.

The 1975 census puts the provincial Bantoanon population at 45,705. The total number of Bantoanon speakers would be much larger than this, however, both because the population of the province has grown in the years since 1975, and because there are pockets of speakers outside the province--pockets that probably existed even in 1975. One would want to consider both provincial and nonprovincial speakers when making an estimate of the population that would possibly use Bantoanon literature. The figures in our survey regarding occupations appear to be almost the same as those in the 1975 census, with some 75% of the Bantoanons being engaged in agriculture, forestry, fishing, and various other types of manual labour.

Bantoanons place a high value on education. They have a higher percentage of degree holders than any other language group in the province (see Table 3). Nearly all the local officials and all the teachers we met were native speakers of Bantoanon. Many of the educated speakers of Bantoanon leave their language area for better employment opportunities elsewhere, though some return home to live or to stay a short time to serve their 'townmates'. There are elementary and high schools in all municipalities, as well as two provincial tertiary institutions in Odiongan.

The languages having some bearing on the question of language use in the Bantoanon area are those in relative geograpical proximity, namely, Tagalog, Romblomanon, and Looknon, and those that are relevant for political reasons, namely, Tagalog, English, and Hiligaynon. Of these, Tagalog is the language most Bantoanons (97%) know to some degree, and Hiligaynon is the one they know least. Considering Romblomanon's linguistic similarity, which Zorc (1977:199) puts at 83% cognate, it was surprising that only some 45% said they spoke it.

1.1 Present language use

Though most respondents said they spoke both Tagalog and English, this was not measurable in this sociolinguistic survey. The survey did reveal, though, that over 95% of Bantoanons use their vernacular in the majority of life's social situations, for example, with their family, with friends, at work, and even with officials (see 3.3). The one social situation where people said they used Tagalog or English rather than Bantoanon was with a school teacher. This was not at all supported by what we were able to observe, however, and since all teachers were Bantoanon speakers, we think this may be the result of their recalling past classroom situations or their holding to a social ideal that does not conform with present reality. Even with the mayors, who speak Bantoanon, many must hold official conversations in the vernacular.

The present use of the language indicates bilingual stability between Bantoanon and Tagalog.[5] Bantoanon is used in everyday situations, and it is the language of the heart, while Tagalog is used in politics, education, and interaction with non-Bantoanons. (See section 2.7 for a discussion of language use in relation to particular religious activities in the area.)

The Filipino values of smooth interpersonal relations and respect for social status appear to have some effect on language use in the area, as would be expected. This would account for the responses of some who claimed, 'I would be likely to respond to the mayor, the school teacher, superiors at work, or friends in whatever language they address me with, provided that I know the language.'

1.2 Profiles

Profiles (i.e. sets of characteristics that define various segments of a speech community) were constructed by using the selected criteria described below. The use of these profiles proved to be a strategic way of interpreting the data collected, especially since this was a random survey. It would have been more helpful, though, to have had the profiles in mind before the survey was designed and carried out, in order to be sure to collect data from representative samples of selected segments of the community. But as it turned out, we had to make our analysis and interpretations on the basis of the data available when the survey was done. The profiles are:

(a) 'Influential', which is defined in terms of socioeconomic criteria (see 3.4)

(b) 'Weak Tagalog', which is defined in terms of educational and linguistic criteria and comprises Bantoanons who would have difficulty with literature in Tagalog

(c) 'Islander' and 'Tablasan', which are profiles of resident Bantoanons and defined in terms of geographical criteria

(d) 'Trend-setter', which is defined in terms of age and socioeconomic criteria

1.2.1 'Influential'

'Influentials' are Bantoanons by birth, residence, and mother tongue. They have college degrees or occupations associated with the upper social strata, or they may have both of these qualifications. They are more likely to live in a poblacion[6] than in a barrio[7] and to use Bantoanon in the home, with friends, and at work. It was noted, however, that Tagalog or English are sometimes used with superiors--a finding we assume to be the result of the social situation and the superior's occupation and mother tongue.

Most 'influentials' we interviewed acknowledged thinking and dreaming in Bantoanon, but fewer of them pray in it, probably because memorized Tagalog and Hiligaynon prayers are used in the churches. Most realized that Bantoanon was the language easiest for them to speak, and they also stated a preference for it, though, at the same time, many (31%) said they preferred Tagalog. 'Influentials' also want their children's first language to be Bantoanon, followed by Tagalog. Also, most of them have lived for six months or more outside the language area, and 77% of these spent that time in a Tagalog area.

1.2.2 'Weak Tagalog'

The Bantoanons who are included in this profile would have difficulty with literature in Tagalog because either they are monolingual or they have only a weak understanding of Tagalog due to infrequent or no use of that language. The levels of language proficiency, by the way, were based on the respondents' self-evaluations.

Many who are included in this profile live in either Banton or Calatrava, and some 20% in each municipality make only minimal use of Tagalog. In Banton, 75% of the people do not use Tagalog in the normal course of a day. Many 'weak Tagalog' speakers are likely to be living in the poblacions as well as in the barrios, though twice as many in the barrios have no opportunity to use Tagalog.

Those over thirty years of age show much less knowledge of Tagalog, having gone to school before Filipino was used as the medium of instruction. Even though young people say they know Tagalog better than their elders, they do not use it more, at least within the language area.

1.2.3 'Islander' and 'Tablasan'

The typical 'islander' and the typical 'Tablasan' are both native speakers of Bantoanon, having been born and now residing in one of the two major geographical parts of the language area. One part consists of the three islands: Banton, Simara, and Sibale, and the other part is Tablas Island. In this report we refer to the inhabitants of the former part as 'islanders' and those of the latter part as 'Tablasans'. Some 40% of each group have never lived outside their language area for more than six months, and of those who have, most have spent their time in Tagalog areas.

Of those with children, most have some children residing within the language area. This perhaps reflects the strength of filial ties, but it also highlights the fact that many feel it is a good place to live and bring up children. Also, there are more 'influentials' among the 'Tablasans' than among the 'islanders'--an expected finding since the major urban centre of Odiongan is on Tablas.

Most Bantoanons expressed pride in the dialect of their home municipalities. Also, many indicated that they were aware of differences between the dialect of the three islands area and that of Tablas. They also considered Banton to have the most prestigious and beautiful sounding dialect. Odiongan, on the other hand, was ranked second in prestige, probably because of its being the largest and most progressive town in the language area rather than because of the beauty of its dialect. This finding would support the suggestion that Banton would be the best site for initial language learning, while it should be realized as well that any published literature for the area would need to be in the Odiongan dialect. We say that for the following reasons: (1) the dialect in Odiongan is probably furthest along in the process of change; (2) it is less archaic; (3) it is more suited to the coming generations; and (4) it has social prestige in accordance with its progressive status.

Both groups want their children to speak Bantoanon first and Tagalog second, and they are not particularly interested in other languages, such as Romblomanon. They recognize that Tagalog is socially and economically important. As could be expected, in our survey more residents of Odiongan than of other localities were aware of this importance of Tagalog, and they would even choose it as the first language for their children, though these same people did not choose to speak Tagalog with their children in the home. They expressed high interest in Bantoanon literature.

1.2.4 'Trend-setter'

'Trend-setters' are native speakers, between the ages of thirteen and thirty years, who are students or are graduates of high school or college. They stated that they prefer to speak Tagalog, but like their elders, they continue to use Bantoanon in most of their daily social exchanges. They assume their children would learn Bantoanon first, and they prefer that Tagalog be the second language learnt. A few expressed the desire that their children learn Tagalog first, but of these only three spoke to their children in Tagalog. It seems likely that at least 70% of the next generation will speak Bantoanon as their first language.

1.3 Predicted changes in language use

Of all the influences that are likely to lead to change in Bantoanon, Filipino is probably the most significant, and the dialect most vulnerable to these changes would be Odionganon. Even so, Bantoanon will probably remain strong, with speakers continuing to improve their understanding of Filipino, but not at great expense to Bantoanon.

The people seemed proud of their language, and they use it constantly at all levels of social life, both private and public, which include religion, politics, and some areas of education. There was also evidence that Bantoanon is being written, for example, in personal letters, in newsheets, on public signs, and in articles and poems, some of which have even been published.

Filipino is used in multilingual situations, at social occasions where a common tongue with non-Bantoanons is necessary, and in educational and political situations that reflect national life in some way.

English remains popular, and some speak it well. Others show shyness or inadequacy when faced with native speakers, such as the 'Americano' surveyors. They are aware of its use internationally, and it ranks third, after Bantoanon and Tagalog, as the language chosen for one's children to learn.

The neighbouring languages of Bantoanon, which are Romblomanon, Looknon, and Hiligaynon, are not considered important, though Romblomanon is known by 30% to 40% of the population on the three islands and by 50% to 60% on Tablas. Interaction with Romblomanons is often carried on in Tagalog since Romblomanons apparently do not know Bantoanon, saying that it is too hard to learn!

1.4 This dialect survey

This was a random survey, but since it was found to be strategic to use profiles in the analysis, we now suggest that a more selective survey should have been made. Such a survey would involve obtaining a suitable sample of respondents in categories that are relevant according to the criteria used in constructing the profiles. These profiles would be taken into account in both the design and the administration of the survey questionnaire.

A limited preliminary lexicostatistical study was made on the basis of three word lists elicited in each municipality. These word lists, along with the sociolinguistic data gathered in this survey, were analysed for interest and comparison of dialects. Zorc (1977), as far as we know, presents the most extensive linguistic material on Bantoanon available to date.

We found that the dialect reflecting the greatest range of heterogeneous outside linguistic influences was the one spoken in Calatrava, where we had done our initial language learning. Calatrava had been chosen because it was a small, less urban community with fewer non-Bantoanon transients, and because it is accessible from the three islands, from Tablas, and from Manila. It is still not thought to have been a bad choice for the purposes we had in mind.

The dialects spoken in Banton or Simara were least affected by outside influences, but Simara's dialect was considered to be unacceptable because of its intonation, which was described as 'angry' in comparison with the highly valued 'slow and gentle' intonation of Banton's dialect.

1.5 Conclusion

A stable relationship seems to exist between Bantoanon and Tagalog, and this relationship is likely to continue into the foreseeable future. Literature in Bantoanon would probably be much better understood than would that in any other language. Since Tagalog is not the first language of Bantoanons, it is not likely that all of those who say they are able to speak Tagalog would also be able to read in that medium. Because many speakers used Tagalog only in school situations, some would probably have lost their ability in reading that language, if not in speaking it as well, through disuse since they left school.

2. General information

2.1 Language classification

In the Ethnologue, Bantoanon is referred to as being of the following affiliations: 'AUSTRONESIAN, Hesperonesian, Northwest Austronesian, Meso Philippine, Central Philippine' (Grimes 1984:457).

For Zorc, Bantoanon is the local name of what he classifies as Banton (1977:14). The genetic relationships of Banton, as he shows them (1977:30-34), are as follows: Banton, which includes Banton, Odionganon, and Sibale,[8] is a subgroup of Bisayan. Bisayan is a subgroup of Central Philippine; Central Philippine, of Meso-Philippine; and Meso-Philippine, of the Southern Philippine group.

In this discussion of Bantoanon, there are other languages, genetically related, that should be considered either because they are in close geographical proximity to the Bantoanon area or, even though not actually close geographically, because they exert influence in that area.

The first group of these languages consists of Bulalakawnon, Dispoholnon,[9] Looknon,[9] and Alcantaranon, which are the North-Central subgroup of West Bisayan (Zorc 1977:32). Bulalakawnon, which is spoken along the south-eastern coast of Mindoro (Zorc 1977:14, 16), is the one language of the four that is at somewhat of a distance from the Bantoanon area. The other three are all spoken on Tablas and, thus, are geographically contiguous to Odionganon, one of the Bantoanon dialects. Even though these languages are geographical neighbours of Bantoanon, they do not exert any degree of political and educational influence in that area.

There are other genetically related languages, which, because of political factors, are presently exerting, or have in the past exerted, influence in the Bantoanon area.

The first of these languages is Romblomanon, which, in its genetic relationship as Romblon, is a single-language branch of Central Bisayan (Zorc 1977:32). This language exerts considerable sociopolitical influence in the Bantoanon area because it is spoken in Romblon, the capital of the province.

In the past, when the political and educational centre of the whole area was on Panay, three other languages--namely, Hiligaynon; Capiznon, which is spoken in Capiz Province on Panay; and Kawayan, which is spoken around Cauayan, on the western side of Negros Occidental (Zorc 1977:14-15)--exerted influence in the Bantoanon area. Genetically, these languages constitute one branch of the Peripheral subgroup of Central Bisayan (Zorc 1977:32).

Finally, there is Tagalog, which has a more distant linguistic affinity. Being in a subgroup co-ordinate with the Bisayan subgroup of Central Philippine (Zorc 1977:33), it is more distant from Bantoanon than any of the languages mentioned above.

Despite its distant relationship, Tagalog nevertheless exerts considerable political and educational influence in the Bantoanon area primarily because it is the basis of Filipino, the national language. Although Tagalog is spoken on Mindoro, Marinduque, and Luzon--three islands that may be said to border the Bantoanon area--these geographic facts alone do not account for the influence Tagalog has in the area.

The Bantoanon language is referred to by its speakers as Bisaya or Binisaya, as are all Bisayan dialects by their speakers. Bantoanon is also known as Odionganon, Calatravanhon, Sibalenhon, and Simaranhon, depending on the locality where it is spoken. A more general name for Bantoanon, used by both native and non-native speakers, is Asiq,[10] the Bantoanon word meaning 'why?' Asiq is used to contrast Bantoanon with the neighbouring dialect Romblomanon, which is known as Basiq, a name that also means 'why?'

2.2 Location of the language area

The Bantoanon language is spoken in the north-western part of Romblon Province (see Appendix A, 2), in Region IV,[11] which is the Southern Tagalog region. This province, which is located among the northern Visayan islands, consists of a number of small islands south of Marinduque, south-west of the Bicol region of Luzon, and east of Mindoro--in all of which Tagalog is either the mother tongue of the majority of the population or the most prestigious language.

The area where Bantoanon is spoken consists of three islets, named Banton, Simara, and Sibale, located to the north and north-west of Tablas Island, and the two towns of Odiongan and Calatrava, located on Tablas itself. Calatrava is located on the northern coast, and Odiongan is on the western coast. These towns are connected by road, but between them lies the town of San Andres,[9] formerly named Despujols, where Looknon, or Dispoholnon, is spoken.

Zorc, who surveyed this language area, does not mention Calatrava or Simara, although on his map 5 (1977:17) he correctly classifies the language spoken on Simara as being Bantoanon. His failure to mention Calatrava could be because he was unaware that any Bantoanon speakers lived there. In our survey, however, we found with regard to Calatrava that of 189 nonresidents only 110 (or 58%) knew that the language spoken in Calatrava was the same as theirs. We learned this by using the question, 'Where else do they speak the same as you do?' Our findings with regard to Calatrava contrast with what we found with regard to Banton, in which case 141 (or 74%) of 190 respondents who did not reside in Banton were aware that the language spoken in Banton was the same as theirs. It is possible, then, that Zorc's informants did not let him know of Calatrava's existence.

2.3 Number and distribution of Bantoanon speakers

Bantoanon is spoken in five municipalities[12] of Romblon Province: Odiongan, Corcuera on Simara Island, Banton, Concepcion on Sibale Island, and Calatrava. Each municipality consists of a poblacion and a number of barrios.

When the 1975 census was taken, 45,705 people in Romblon Province, or 25.1% of the total population, spoke Bantoanon as their mother tongue. By municipality, 21,070 of these were in Odiongan, 8,584 in Corcuera, 7,440 in Banton, 4,837 in Concepcion, and 3,590 in Calatrava. The remaining 184 speakers lived in other municipalities. In Table 1 are shown the percentages the above numbers of Bantoanon speakers are of the total population.

Municipality		Total population	Bantoanon speakers	Percent Bantoanon speakers
Odiongan	total	30,198	21,070	69.8%
	urban	3,028	2,569	84.8%
	rural	27,170	18,501	68.1%
Corcuera	total	8,739	8,584	98.2%
	urban	545	508	93.2%
	rural	8,194	8,076	98.6%
Banton	total	7,545	7,440	98.6%
	urban	1,308	1,289	98.5%
	rural	6,237	6,151	99.6%
Concepcion	total	4,997	4,837	96.8%
	urban	-	-	
	rural	4,997	4,837	96.8%
Calatrava	total	5,682	3,590	63.2%
	urban	1,063	1,010	95.0%
	rural	4,619	2,580	55.9%

Table 1. Number and distribution of Bantoanon speakers

Note: The 1975 census classifies the poblacion of Concepcion as 'rural', hence the lack of any urban speakers in that municipality.

Bantoanon also is a significant minority language in some municipalities of Mindoro Oriental, where there are 1,223 speakers in Pinamalayan (2.9% of the population), 724 in Roxas (3.0% of the population), 670 in Naujan (1.2% of the population), and 478 in Pola (2.5% of the population). None of the data of our survey, however, were collected outside Romblon Province.

The two small islands of Banton and Sibale are both mountainous, with very little coastal land for agriculture or for town sites. Concepcion, on Sibale, is being extended on reclaimed land. The Banton poblacion has a very exposed shoreline because it was built on one of the few less rugged slopes available. Banton Island has rugged, rocky terrain, and it reaches an elevation of 614 metres, or 1995 feet. Simara has lower hills, and on its northern and western sides it has flatter and more arable land.

Odiongan is situated on flat land to the north of the swampy mouth of a small river on the western side of Tablas Island. Inland to the east there is a chain of mountains that extends the length of the island. The western side of Tablas has a coastal plain, which is of varying widths and is broken in a couple of places by spurs of hills that extend to the coast, separating the pockets of arable land surrounding the municipalities of Odiongan, San Andres, and Calatrava. Tablas also has flat land on its southern and south-eastern coasts.

Calatrava has a protected shoreline towards the north-north-west, and it has mountains to the east and south. It is surrounded by a narrow strip of arable land.

2.4 Socioeconomic base of the Bantoanon language area

The Bantoanon's socioeconomic situation seems stable. During our survey we found that the major industries listed in the 1975 census still prevailed in Romblon Province. Of the total workers employed in various industries **64.4% were** engaged in agriculture, hunting, forestry, and fishing.

Occupation	Percent of total workers
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers, and related workers	64.5%
Craftsmen, production process workers, and related workers	15.2%
Service and sports people and related workers	5.2%
Professional and technical people and related workers	4.7%
Sales workers	4.0%
Workers in transport and communications	2.2%
Stevedores, freight handlers, and labourers	1.8%
Clerical workers	1.2%
Administrators, executives, and managers	0.5%
Miners, quarrymen, etc.	0.2%

Table 2. Occupations in Romblon Province
(as per 1975 Census)

Most of the staple crops of Romblon Province are grown on Tablas; however, rice must still be imported since the province is not self-sufficient in that grain.

Banton and Sibale have little land suitable for crops other than copra. Simara has more arable land, and that is used for growing rice and raising animals, like pigs and horses. During much of the year, the three islands have a meager water supply. Banton and Simara, because of their exposed positions and the lack of sheltered valleys, are also open to damage by typhoon. Many of the inhabitants of these three islands are fishermen, although it is said that the best fishing grounds are off Calatrava, which is on Tablas. Fishermen from Banton have to travel further to good fishing grounds than do those from the other islands. Also, as sort of an adjunct to the fishing industry, there are ice plants in Odiongan and Calatrava.

Banton and Simara, with more than two hundred fifty people per square kilometre, both have a relatively higher population density than do the other Bantoanon areas. Maybe because of the factors stated above as well as its isolation, Banton's residents are considered by others--both Bantoanon speakers and outsiders--to be more thrifty, more industrious, and more retiring than the average Visayan. Along with these characteristics, they are evidently progressive as well, for it was the people from Banton who populated the other four areas.

That these people did, in fact, migrate to the other areas is borne out by the fact that many family names of Bantoanon speakers have the initial letter 'F', which the Spanish gave to the inhabitants of Banton. Bantoanons also put a high value on education, evidence of which can be seen in Table 3. In this table are tabulated the percentages of the population, in the different municipalities, who are over six years of age and who hold degrees. (These data were taken from the 1975 census.)

Looknon speakers		Romblomanon speakers		Bantoanon speakers	
Municipality	Percent degree holders	Municipality	Percent degree holders	Municipality	Percent degree holders
Looc	1.7	Romblon	2.3	Odiongan	2.7
Alcantara	1.7	San Fernando	1.9	Banton	2.1
San Andres	1.4	San Agustin	1.3	Corcuera	1.9
Santa Fe	1.4			Concepcion	1.6
San Jose	1.4			Calatrava	1.4

Table 3. Degree holders

The desire for upward social mobility seems to be achieved through education, which often leads to better employment. To find such employment a considerable number of people leave their language area and go to larger Philippine cities or overseas. This trend, which would tend to reduce the population, seems to be offset by the continuing high birth rate and the large number of parents who still rear their children in the area, with the result that the population of the three islands tends to remain more or less constant. Despite this trend, however, Odiongan has been a centre of growth.

The major centre of Bantoanon speakers is Odiongan. It is strategically located on Tablas Island, and it has good transportation facilities. In fact, the provincial airport is more easily accessible from Odiongan than from the provincial capital on Romblon Island. These factors, along with the progressiveness of Bantoanon speakers, may explain why Odiongan is challenging Romblon for its position as capital of the province. Another factor is that there are Bantoanon speakers, still living in their own language area, who hold positions of influence on the provincial level.

If development on Tablas and this challenge to Romblon continue, there would seem to be a definite possibility of linguistic change in the future--a change, however, that would be toward strengthening, rather than weakening, the use of Bantoanon relative to Romblomanon.

Numbering some seventy thousand compared with some forty-five thousand Bantoanons, the Romblomanons seem to regard Bantoanons as insignificant and lower in prestige than themselves. This, however, as evidenced above, is probably more an artifact of history and tradition than of fact.

2.5 Neighbouring languages

The languages considered neighbours to Bantoanon are both those within the immediate geographical vicinity and those that, though not immediately adjacent geographically, exert influence in the Bantoanon area. These neighbours are Tagalog, Romblomanon, Looknon, and Hiligaynon. Of these, Tagalog and Hiligaynon are spoken on islands in provinces, outside, but bordering, Romblon Province.

Tagalog is closer geographically than Hiligaynon, and, as the base for Filipino, the national language, it nowadays exerts an influence much greater than that of a mere neighbouring language. This is because Filipino is the language of politics, education, and radio, which is increasingly pervasive. Now that Romblon Province is in the Southern Tagalog region, the use of Tagalog has increased even more.

In the past, when Romblon Province was in the same Visayan region as Capiz Province on the island of Panay, the language of politics and education was Hiligaynon (cf. 2.1). Even though Hiligaynon, whose centre is Iloilo, on Panay, is a more distant neighbour, it has been an influence in Romblon Province for some two to three hundred years. And in the town of Romblon it continues to exert more influence than it does in the Bantoanon area.

It is on the three smaller islands of the Bantoanon area, where the residents say 'pure' Bantoanon is spoken. The languages that are neighbours of this language are Tagalog and Romblomanon. Tagalog is the major prestigious language of Mindoro to the west and Marinduque and Luzon to the north. Romblomanon is the language of prestige on Romblon, the island where the capital of the province is located, and it is spoken on the islands to the east and south-east. Since both Tagalog and Romblomanon are spoken on islands apart from those of the Bantoanon area, they are separated from Bantoanon by water. In the past, this was a greater hindrance to communication than it is nowadays, when motorized boats are in common use.

On Sibale, the influence of Tagalog, which results from daily communication by boat with Mindoro (see Appendix E) and from Tagalog radio programs, is offset by the considerable pride Bantoanons have in their language. This means that, while Tagalog loanwords have come to be used, the vernacular is still maintained as a distinct form of speech. Romblomanon has little influence on Sibale because of the irregular communication between the two islands, but it's influence is greater on

Banton and Simara because of the regular scheduled communication between the two language areas by means of the biweekly mailboat that runs between Romblon and Banton via Simara (see Appendix E). Thus, without this mailboat, communication would be quite irregular.

Tablas has as its three neighbouring languages Tagalog, Romblomanon, and Looknon. Tagalog is the neighbouring language on the west since it is spoken on Mindoro, the next island to Tablas in that direction. Tagalog has influence on Tablas both because of the number of scheduled boats between the two areas and because Filipino is used in national events, in the schools, and by outsiders who come to or through the major port town of Odiongan.

On Tablas, Romblomanon is spoken mainly in and around the north-eastern town of San Agustin, which formerly was named Badajoz; therefore, it exerts more influence on the bordering municipality of Calatrava, which until the recent past was actually part of the municipality of San Agustin. As the language of the provincial capital, Romblomanon has had some political and social influence in Odiongan also since both are major towns in the province and there is regular scheduled transportation between the two places.

Looknon is spoken both in the southern part of Tablas and in San Andres, on the north-west coast. San Andres, lying between Calatrava and Odiongan, thus separates these two Bantoanon municipalities. Odiongan is surrounded by Looknon, while Calatrava has common borders with both Looknon and Romblomanon. In border areas there seems to be little mixing of languages--a finding substantiated by the fact that we found side by side households having different mother tongue speakers. For example, Looknon speakers were found to live in one house and Bantoanon speakers in the next. Among such households, some speakers were bilingual while others were monolingual in one language or the other. It was found in Calatrava that there was more interaction, intermarriage, and bilingualism between Bantoanon and Romblomanon speakers than betweem Bantoanon and Looknon speakers.

Looknon was not listed in the 1975 census as a mother tongue; rather, Romblomanon was recorded as the majority dialect in such localities as Alcantara and Looc. Thus, out of a population of 27,170 in the Odiongan rural area, most of the 7,911 reported to be Romblomanon speakers are more likely to be speakers of Looknon. Similarly in Calatrava, while 95% of the urban dwellers speak Bantoanon, the eastern portion of the 1,650 who were reported to speak Romblomanon--out of a total of 4,619 rural dwellers--are probably actual speakers of Romblomanon, while those in the western portion more probably are speakers of Looknon.

The people of Tablas consider Looknon and Romblomanon to be distinct from each other, which is borne out by Zorc (1977:30-32, 267ff; cf. also 2.1 and Appendix B). In his diagram 1, entitled, Genetic relationships of Bisayan dialects (32), Zorc shows the results of his analyses, which were based on lexicostatistical comparison, comparison of functors, and intelligibility testing. He then defends his analyses in chapters ten to thirteen, with chapter twelve being devoted specifically to Bantoanon (241-85).

2.6 Technical work in related languages

We frequently heard of a Bantoanon dictionary, which, after some twenty years of work, is being prepared for publication by a James Fabicon, a native speaker from Banton. We were told he now resides in Manila; however, after attempting to do so, we still have not been able to contact him. We are inclined to believe that the dictionary is still in the prepublication stage.

Personnel of the United States Peace Corps are carrying on a nutrition program on Banton Island. At present, the Peace Corps workers in that program are Glenn and Mary Bisquera. Other workers in that nutrition program are stationed in San Andres, where Looknon is spoken. Others have been stationed near Odiongan for a two-year term of service, and others are yet to be assigned in Romblon Province.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics had a member, Robert French, stationed in the Romblomanon area, near Romblon, from 1980 to 1982, and he completed a description of Romblomanon phonology during his time in that assignment. That organization is now represented again in the Romblomanon area by Leonard and Jo Newell, who began work there in June 1986.

Father Dennis McKillip, SVD,[13] has done some translation into Bantoanon on Sibale (see 2.7).

2.7 Churches and missions in the area

On Banton Island, the Roman Catholic Recollect Fathers have had a mission station. Roman Catholic influence has been strong on that island since Spanish times, when a church and a fort were built there. Today the population remains predominantly Roman Catholic, but in the poblacion of Banton there is a large Philippine Evangelical Mission church and also a Seventh-Day Adventist church.

Sibale is 98% Roman Catholic. Father Dennis McKillip, from the United States, is the priest there and has been for twenty-five years. His long tenure is the result of his being a member of the Society of the Divine Word, an order whose members are not subject to frequent changes in parish as the secular priests of the province are. During his years of service he has learnt the vernacular, and some years ago, spurred by Vatican II support for the Mass in the vernacular, he began translating the Mass into Bantoanon. He followed this by translating the lectionary readings, which are Old and New Testament portions, for a three-year cycle. His method has been to make a translation himself and then have it checked and revised by six individuals before putting it into use. Some hymns have also been translated into the Bantoanon vernacular.

Although the people of Sibale appreciate the vernacular Mass, Concepcion is the only parish in the area still using it. The other four Bantoanon areas are prevented by church regulations from using it. The Seventh-Day Adventists and the Iglesia ni Cristo--the latter with a small but growing group--are also represented on Sibale. The stronger groups of these denominations seem to be in the barrios rather than in the poblacion.

In Odiongan, the largest denomination is the Philippine Independent Church,[14] and the residence of that church's bishop, Bishop Gabasa, is in that town. A number of other denominations are represented in Odiongan also. In addition to the Roman Catholic church, which accounts for 25 percent of the people, there is a large Foursquare church and Bible school, which is the residence of the superintendant, a Pastor Doromal, of Romblon and Masbate. There are also Baptist, Methodist, Seventh-Day Adventist, and Apostolic churches. plus Jehovah's Witnesses, the Iglesia ni Cristo, and the Church of the Twelve Tribes.

Calatrava has large Roman Catholic and Philippine Independent churches as well as smaller Seventh-Day Adventist and Foursquare churches. When we were there, some Iglesia ni Cristo members were meeting in a home in the poblacion, and there was a Jehovah's Witnesses church in the nearby barrio of Linao.

On Simara, there is a large Roman Catholic church in Corcuera, while in the largest barrio, Mabini, there is a large Philippine Independent church. There are also smaller Seventh-Day Adventist and Foursquare churches in Corcuera and some barrios.

The Roman Catholic churches are all involved in the Catholic charismatic renewal, possibly encouraged by the Bishop of Romblon Province, Monsignor Mondejar. In addition to 'Life in the Spirit' seminars in the Roman Catholic Church, which are associated with the charismatic renewal, a short course in Christianity, called 'Cursillo', is also offered regularly. The Philippine Independent Church offers a similar short course, called 'Krisilka', an abbreviation of the expression Kristo ilawan mo kami 'Christ, You enlighten us.'

With the exception of Sibale, the Roman Catholic Church uses Tagalog for most masses and for Bible reading. This is true of the Philippine Independent Church also. The language used in sermons--whether Tagalog, English, Hiligaynon, or Bantoanon--depends on the one preaching.

The Seventh-Day Adventist Church uses Hiligaynon mainly for Bible reading. Devotional notes, study outlines, and hymnals are published in Hiligaynon. Sermons, however, depending upon the preacher, may also be in the vernacular. Often copies of Tagalog and English Bibles and hymnals are on hand as well. Seventh-Day Adventist members consider Hiligaynon to be the 'language of the church'.

The Foursquare Church uses Tagalog or English Bibles and Bible studies, but sermons are generally in the vernacular, unless there is a visiting speaker, in which case Tagalog is used. Since the Bible college in Odiongan trains people from an area wider than that of the Bantoanon speakers, courses are taught in Tagalog or English, but some group discussions are conducted in the vernacular.

The Baptist church in Odiongan was said to favour the use of English Bibles. Since a Tagalog missionary is stationed there, and members are both Bantoanon and non-Bantoanon speakers, Bantoanon is not exclusively used in the services.

2.8 Schools in the area

Most barangays[15] have an elementary school, where grades one through six are taught. There are high schools in each of the five municipalities, with at least one in each poblacion and sometimes others in outlying barangays of the municipalities of Odiongan, Corcuera, and Banton. These high schools offer four years of training. Odiongan also has Romblon College, a tertiary institution. Branches of tertiary institutions offer special training in Odiongan in the field of agriculture and in San Agustin in fishing.

The official languages of instruction in all schools are Tagalog and English. Teachers told us that Bantoanon is also used through the third grade. This is probably true since all the teachers we met were Bantoanon speakers.

2.9 Government agencies

We did not make any attempt to note the government agencies that are functioning in the Bantoanon area, but we do want to make some comments regarding the ones that are there. Odiongan, being a larger provincial town, seemed to have offices, with local or outside representatives, of all the relevant government agencies. Smaller municipalities, however, had some local representatives, but not of all agencies. In the case of the Ministry of Human Settlements, for example, we know of one municipality where there was, at that time, no full-time representative of that ministry, but the mayor and other local officials were both approaching personnel suitable for this position and making plans for housing projects. We also heard and read of plans for the construction of housing for rent to people with low incomes in at least one municipality in the three islands area and in one municipality on Tablas. This lends support to the assumption that such projects were being considered in all municipalities.

Nutrition programs, with supervision by personnel from Romblon and Odiongan, seemed to be well underway. There was an office of the Bureau of Census and Statistics in Banton, and there were probably such offices elsewhere, for example, in Odiongan. The circuit court judge for the three islands area, a Bantoanon, was stationed in Simara, while Tablas had judges of its own in at least Odiongan and San Andres.

We met various personnel of the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports in each municipality--personnel who were under the provincial office in Romblon. Odiongan had two superintendents, and each of the other municipalities had one.

Local governmental responsibilities were in the hands of the mayor, employees of the municipio,[16] and the barangay captains. Representatives of the Integrated National Police, which had offices in Odiongan and their provincial offices in Romblon, were stationed in each municipality.

3. Present language use

3.1 The sociolinguistic survey

In carrying out this sociolinguistic survey, we interviewed a total of 230 people, all of whom spoke Bantoanon: 40 in Banton, 42 in Corcuera, 43 in Concepcion, 61 in Odiongan, and 41 in Calatrava. Of these, 196, or 85% of those surveyed, spoke Bantoanon as their mother tongue. For the questionnaire we obtained a translation of each question and its optional answers in Bantoanon, and we conducted the survey using Bantoanon. (The questionnaire used in the survey may be found in Appendix C, 1.)

In each municipality, approximately two-thirds of the respondents were found in the poblacion and one-sixth in each of two other barangays. The survey was conducted randomly by visiting, say, every fifth house on the right side of all east and west parallel streets. An attempt was made to canvas evenly sex and predetermined age groups as well as to cover all geographical sectors of a town.

3.2 Languages known

Question 10a of the survey questionnaire was asked more in the sense of, 'What languages do you speak or have you learned?' Some respondents admitted that they were weak in certain languages, and this was also recorded. The results obtained are tabulated in Table 4. (Note: The percentages in Table 4 are based on the sample of 196 Bantoanon native speakers.)

Language	Spoken		Poorly spoken		Not spoken	
Tagalog	181	92%	9	5%	6	5%
English	123	63%	57	29%	16	8%
Romblomanon	76	39%	12	6%	108	55%
Looknon	27	14%	6	3%	163	83%
Hiligaynon	19	10%	12	6%	165	84%

Table 4. Speakers' self-evaluations of languages known

Although the lingua franca in the eastern part of Romblon Province is said to be Hiligaynon, with Tagalog being spoken as well, it can readily be seen in Table 4 that Tagalog is the lingua franca of the Bantoanon area. English is taught in the schools, and it has some degree of influence, especially since Bantoanons are interested in education and upward social mobility. With the spread of Filipino, however, English is, as expected, second to Tagalog in usage.

After English, Romblomanon, the language of the provincial capital, is next, but this language is spoken by fewer than 50% of the Bantoanons surveyed.

As mentioned previously, a small percentage of Bantoanon speakers know Looknon--a fact that usually is the result of the influence of geographical proximity or of intermarriage.

In Table 4 it can be seen--and local observation seems to confirm--that most native speakers of Bantoanon are bilingual in their own language and Tagalog; however, a small number are monolingual. Some people in the area who speak other languages, for example, Looknon, are monolingual also. Many people are what might be called trilingual, knowing their own language, Tagalog, and English, and some might be called multilingual because they are also able to speak one or more of the other languages of the area, namely, Romblomanon, Looknon, or Hiligaynon.

3.3 Use of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English compared

The results we obtained by the use, in the survey, of question 11, 'What language do you use when you speak to spouse, parents, etc?' are tabulated in Table 5. As before, only native Bantoanon speakers and only the three languages spoken by more than 50% of the population are considered. (Note: It is often the case that people are bi- or trilingual, which means that such individuals would be included in this survey with speakers of the various languages they know. As a result, the percentages in Table 5 do not total 100%.)

Language	Spouse		Parents		Children		School-teacher		Market vendor /shopkeeper		Mayor		Friends /peers	
Bantoanon	140	96%	192	98%	154	97%	66	34%	192	98%	173	88%	194	99%
Tagalog	9	6%	9	5%	19	12%	128	65%	34	17%	51	26%	39	20%
English	1	1%	6	6%	6	4%	108	55%	1	1%	27	14%	18	9%

Table 5. Common usage of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English compared

Of the figures given in Table 5, one in particular draws our attention. It is the 34% in the Bantoanon row in the Schoolteacher column--a figure that represents those who speak in their own language to teachers. We note this figure because, if 34% of Bantoanons speak in their own vernacular to schoolteachers, then that can be understood to mean that 66% do not speak in their own vernacular to teachers. We note this also because, in the case of all conversations we heard outside the school context, Bantoanon was the medium of communication between teachers and other members of the community. The survey question we used must have suggested to most respondents either a classroom situation or some status distinction.

That only 12% of the respondents do not use Bantoanon when speaking to the mayor suggests that many official conversations must take place in the vernacular. This agrees with our observations in the municipios we visited, where we noticed that the officials and staff spoke among themselves in Bantoanon. Many respondents emphasized that they would not initiate a conversation with the mayor, but if they became involved in such a conversation, they would follow the mayor's lead. Thus, if the mayor used Tagalog, they would reply in Tagalog. This applies also to conversations with friends or peers.

Table 5 also shows that upward of 96% of the people whose mother tongue is Bantoanon use this language in their day-to-day communication in the family, with friends, and with market vendors and storekeepers. If we were to apply this percentabe to the count, in the 1975 census, of 45,705 mother tongue Bantoanon speakers, we would find that at least 43,877 people regularly speak Bantoanon.

3.4 Profile of an 'influential' Bantoanon

After our survey was completed, we concerned ourselves with abstracting from the 230 individuals surveyed a sample of those respondents who could be considered 'influential' (cf. 1.2.1). As described above, this profile is defined in terms of these factors:

(a) Ethnic origin, that is, whether the individual's mother tongue is Bantoanon

(b) Age, that is, whether the individual is between twenty and fifty years of age

(c) Scholastic achievement and occupation, that is, whether the individual has one or both of these qualifications: an academic degree or employment as a teacher, a government official such as barangay captain or policeman, a doctor or nurse, a professional such as a lawyer or an architect, or a businessman

From a total of 196 Bantoanons, 39 were found to fit this profile. (See Appendix C, 4(c) for considerations relative to surveying the 'influential' Bantoanon.)

3.4.1 Place of birth and place of residence

The places of birth and residence of both the 'influential' Bantoanons and all the native Bantoanons surveyed are tabulated in Table 6. It is doubtful whether the data shown in this table reveal any pattern other than that of the migration of a few 'influential' persons from Odiongan to Calatrava. More 'influential' people were interviewed in Simara (i.e. Corcuera) and Odiongan than in the other areas, but, while this is interesting, it cannot be verified in the context of this survey that these figures reflect the true situation.

Birthplace	'Influentials'		Total native speakers		'Influentials' are ___% of total
Banton	4	10%	39	20%	10%
Corcuera	10	26%	43	22%	23%
Concepcion	6	15%	34	17%	18%
Calatrava	4	10%	27	14%	15%
Odiongan	14	36%	49	25%	29%
Other	1	3%	2	1%	50%
Residence					
Banton	5	13%	40	20%	13%
Corcuera	10	26%	39	20%	26%
Concepcion	6	15%	37	19%	16%
Calatrava	7	18%	29	15%	24%
Odiongan	11	28%	48	24%	23%

Table 6. Places of birth and residence of 'influential' Bantoanons

3.4.2 Distribution by denominational affiliation

The denominational affiliations of the Bantoanon 'influentials' and of the total set of native speakers surveyed, are tabulated in Table 7.

Denomination	A	B	C	D	E
Roman Catholic	25	64%	137	70%	18%
Philippine Independent	12	31%	43	22%	28%
Seventh-Day Adventist	1	3%	7	4%	14%
Foursquare	1	3%	7	4%	14%
Baptist	0	0%	1	1%	0%
Other	0	0%	1	1%	0%
Totals	39		196		

Table 7. Denominational affiliation of the 'influentials'

Key: A Number of 'influentials' who are affiliated with the denomination
B Percentage that A is of all the 'influentials' who are affiliated with a denomination
C Total number of the sample who are affiliated with the denomination
D Percentage that C is of the total sample
E Percentage that A is of C

From these data it could be suggested, but again not verified, that the Philippine Independent Church apparently has a higher percentage of 'influential' native Bantoanon speakers than do the other major denominations in the language area. A factor that may contribute to this, however, is that the Philippine Independent Church is the largest denomination in Odiongan, the major centre of influence in the area.

3.4.3 Distribution by place of residence

During the course of this survey, only approximately one-third of the interviews were done in the barangays outside the poblacions. The results are summarized in Table 8.

Residence	'Influentials'		Total native speakers		'Influentials' are ___% of total
Poblacion	35	90%	132	67%	27%
Barrio	4	10%	64	33%	6%

Table 8. Place of residence of 'influential' Bantoanons

Thus, it may be said that more 'influentials' are to be found inside the towns than outside them.

3.4.4 'Influential' use of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English

3.4.4.1 In the family

Of the sample of 39 'influential' Bantoanons, 36 answered the question about the language they use in speaking to their children, as did 158 of all the native speaking Bantoanons surveyed. In Table 9, figures are shown comparing the 'influential' subset with the set of native speakers with respect to the language used in speaking to children.

Language	'Influentials'		Total native speakers	
Bantoanon	35	97%	154	97%
Tagalog	10	28%	19	12%
English	1	3%	6	4%

Table 9. Use of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English with children

Although a greater percentage of 'influential' Bantoanons are concerned about their children's speaking Tagalog, or Filipino, and for that reason use it in the home, it seems that Tagalog is being used along with, rather than in place of, Bantoanon. So, on the basis of this survey, it would seem that 'influential' Bantoanons do not feel that they should restrict the use of Bantoanon in the home.

The entire sample of 39 'influentials' said that they spoke to their parents in Bantoanon, while 192 out of 196 (or 98%) of the total native speaking sample used Bantoanon in speaking to their parents.

3.4.4.2 Among friends

In Table 10, the 'influential' subset is compared with the set of all the native speakers surveyed with respect to the language they use in speaking with friends or peers.

Language	'Influentials'		Total Native Speakers	
Bantoanon	39	100%	194	99%
Tagalog	18	46%	39	20%
English	11	28%	18	9%

Table 10. Use of Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English among friends

From comments received during interviews, the practice with regard to speaking with friends seems to be, 'If my friends are, for example, Tagalog, American, or Romblomanon, I speak with them in their language. With my Bantoanon friends, I speak Bantoanon.' Thus, Table 10 would seem to show that the 'influentials' have more friends from outside the language area than do those in the general set of native speakers. (See Appendix C, 4 Evaluation of survey design.)

3.4.4.3 At work

This information was taken from the responses to question 14 in the survey questionnaire. In Table 11 are shown four possible alternatives derived from those responses. These alternatives are as follows:

(a) Those who speak Bantoanon only, with no English or Tagalog, with their superiors

(b) Those who speak Bantoanon and English or Tagalog with their superiors, which means that, although they use Bantoanon, it is not the only language they use

(c) Those who speak only English or Tagalog with their superiors and no Bantoanon

(d) Those who use only Bantoanon with those under them but no Bantoanon with superiors or peers

The sample of those who responded to this question regarding the language they use at work is different from that of the whole profile. In this case, the figures are 34 'influentials' versus 120 total as compared with 39 versus 196 (see 3.4 above). The reason for this difference is probably because some respondents, namely, housewives, were not in the work force.

Language used with superiors	'Influentials'		Total native speakers	
(a) Bantoanon	9	26%	63	53%
(b) Bantoanon, Tagalog, English	18	53%	46	38%
(c) Tagalog, English	7	21%	11	9%
With inferiors only				
(d) Bantoanon	2	6%	6	5%

Table 11. Languages spoken at work

It cannot be verified from this survey, but it seems probable that those in groups (a) and (b) have native-speaking Bantoanon superiors, while those in group (c) have non-Bantoanon superiors.

If one compares rows (a) and (b) of Table 11, he can see that a lower percentage of 'influentials' than of those in the total native-speaker set feel free to use only their native language with their superiors at work. However, 79% of the 'influentials' still use Bantoanon only or partially when speaking with superiors.

The way different languages are used in work situations was seen in the five municipalities we visited. In all of them, Bantoanon was used in general office conversation; English was used with us; and Tagalog or English were used in dictation and typing of letters.

From row (c) in Table 11 one may conclude only that it is more likely for those in the 'influential' group than for others to be employed by a non-Bantoanon. The percentage of non-'influential' native speakers who speak no Bantoanon to their superiors is approximately 5%. This figure is arrived at by dividing the number of non-'influential' native speakers (11 minus 7 from row (c) in Table 11) by the total number of non-'influential' native speakers (i.e. 120 native speakers minus 34 'influential' native speakers).

In row (d) of Table 11, there is no significant difference between the 'influentials' and the total group, though it can be seen that it is in only a few working situations where the use of Bantoanon is restricted to those on the lower scale of influence.

3.4.4.4 'Internal' language

Question 17 in the survey questionnaire concerns the languages used in prayer, thinking, and dreaming. The results are tabulated in Table 12.

Language of prayer	'Influentials'		Native speakers	
Bantoanon	33	85%	161	82%
Tagalog	14	36%	58	30%
English	9	23%	20	10%
Language of thought				
Bantoanon	39	100%	186	95%
Tagalog	9	23%	27	14%
English	6	15%	10	5%
Language of dreams				
Bantoanon	37	95%	184	93%
Tagalog	8	21%	27	14%
English	5	13%	7	4%

Table 12. Languages used in prayer, thought, and dreams

It may be noticed at once that in both sets fewer people pray in their native language than think in it. The reason for this could be that in some churches, for example, the larger Roman Catholic and Philippine Independent churches, prayers are more formal and usually in Tagalog. Such prayers are then memorized and recited during private devotions. In Sibale, however, where the language used in most church services, including prayers, is Bantoanon, 95% of the people interviewed said that they prayed in Bantoanon. The question on prayer, incidentally, was asked specifically about private prayer.

Also worthy of comment are the higher percentages noted in every case for 'influentials'. Not only do a greater percentage of 'influentials' pray, think, and dream in Tagalog and English, which would be expected, but also a greater percentage of 'influentials' pray, think, and dream in Bantoanon. It may be that these figures reflect a greater awareness of their psychological processes or pride in their language, rather than actual use. Some of the non-'influential' native speakers may have been reluctant to admit that they thought in Bantoanon and chose instead a prestigious ideal. From the total sample of 196, of whom 39 were 'influential' and said they thought in Bantoanon, we may note that there were 10 non-'influential' native speakers who do not use Bantoanon in thinking. Thus, there are different ways of interpreting the figures:

(a) The figures reflect actual use of language, which would mean that 'influentials' use their native language more than their non-'influential' neighbours do.

(b) The figures reflect pride in language, which would mean that 'influentials' are prouder of their native language than their non-'influential' neighbours are.

(c) The figures reflect awareness of one's use of language 'internally' and ability to distinguish these languages, which would mean that 'influentials' are more aware that they think in their native language than are their non-'influential' neighbours.

3.4.5 Language use: Relative facility and preference

Question 19 in the survey questionnaire asks, 'In which language do you find it easiest to express yourself?' while question 21 asks, 'Which language do you like speaking best?'. The results obtained from the responses to these questions are shown in Table 13.

Easiest language	'Influentials'		Native speakers	
Bantoanon	34	87%	161	82%
Tagalog	9	23%	41	21%
English	1	3%	3	2%
Language preferred				
Bantoanon	31	79%	183	93%
Tagalog	12	31%	35	18%
English	2	5%	3	2%

Table 13. Relative facility in use and language preference

Because a number of respondents were unable to choose one 'easiest' or 'best' language, the percentage total is greater than 100% in each case. For this reason, it may be helpful to look at these figures from their negative perspective. That is, we can, for example, look under Easiest language at the 2% figure in the English row and in the Native speakers column and then make the statement that '98% of the native speakers do not think English is the easiest language in which to express themselves.' Or, after looking at the 79% figure, under Language preferred, in the Bantoanon row and the 'Influentials' column, say that '21% of the "influential" native speakers do not like speaking Bantoanon best.'

The question, 'Which language do you like speaking best?' was difficult for many to answer. The question seemed to bring to mind the presentation of oneself in public and the associated activities of speech-making and public debate. This was certainly so for many of the 'influentials', and it may have reflected their social aspirations. This, then, prompted a shift in focus from the respondent as speaker to the audience instead. This would explain why three of those 'influentials' who considered Bantoanon the easiest language did not prefer it as a medium of address. They had visualized their audience as consisting, at least in part, of non-Bantoanon speakers.

Another twenty-two native speakers who were surveyed thought Bantoanon was 'easiest', and they also considered it 'best', probably visualizing an audience consisting entirely of Bantoanon-speakers. For many the question may also have suggested the wider educational or social scene, where the influence of English, the international language of the technical world, and Filipino, the national language, are promoted and specifically used.

3.4.6 Other places of residence

Question 24 in the questionnaire asks, 'In what other places, where Bantoanon is not spoken, have you lived for more than six months?' For those who had lived outside the language area, the most frequent place of residence was an area, like Luzon or Mindoro, where Tagalog is spoken.

Residence	'Influentials'		Native speakers	
Outside Bantoanon area	33	85%	113	58%
In Tagalog area	30	77%	98	50%

Table 14. Other non-Bantoanon places of residence

From Table 14, it can be seen that a greater percentage--one and one-half times as great--of 'influentials' than of the total group of native speakers have lived outside the language area. This was an expected result.

It can also be seen in Table 14 that more than 50% of the native-speaking population live outside their language area for significant lengths of time. This may show that they are a mobile society with strong ties to their home area, to which they return. This is probably why Tagalog is well understood by many native Bantoanons.

3.5 Profile of a Bantoanon who would have difficulty with literature in Tagalog

In order to arrive at a profile of native Bantoanon speakers who would have difficulty reading Tagalog--a profile we call 'weak Tagalog'--we have used the following criteria:

(a) Native speaker of Bantoanon

(b) No or weak understanding of Tagalog, which leads to great difficulty with Tagalog literature

(c) No or infrequent use of Tagalog, which leads to moderate difficulty with Tagalog literature

To determine those who would be considered (c) we took those respondents who never use Tagalog in the home (i.e. with spouse, with parents, or with children), in the market, with friends or peers, or with the mayor. (This information was gained from the answers to question 11 of the survey questionnaire.)

Note that the set of those who have no or a weak understanding of Tagalog is a subset of those who never or infrequently use Tagalog. The size of the sample of those having minimal understanding is 15; that of the sample of those who use Tagalog minimally, 96.

(Note, with regard to the percentages in Tables 15-19, that it should be kept in mind that percentages relating to a sample of 15 are accurate to ±4%.)

3.5.1 Places of birth and residence

The places of birth and residence of those included in this profile are tabulated in Table 15, where data are given for two samples, namely, those with weak or no understanding of Tagalog and those who never or infrequently use Tagalog.

	Minimal understanding		Minimal use		Total native speakers	Percent of total with... minimal understanding	minimal use
Birthplace							
Banton	7	47%	28	29%	39	18%	72%
Corcuera	0	0%	27	28%	43	0%	63%
Concepcion	3	20%	15	16%	34	9%	44%
Calatrava	5	0%	14	15%	27	19%	52%
Odiongan	0	33%	10	10%	49	0%	20%
Other	0	0%	1	1%	2	0%	50%
Residence							
Banton	7	47%	30	31%	40	18%	75%
Corcuera	0	0%	23	24%	39	0%	59%
Concepcion	3	20%	17	18%	37	8%	46%
Calatrava	5	0%	15	16%	29	17%	52%
Odiongan	0	33%	10	10%	48	0%	21%

Table 15. Places of birth and residence of 'weak Tagalog' sample

Again, because of the small size of the samples, it is difficult to draw definite conclusions from these data, but it seems that a number of people, especially in areas at a distance from Odiongan, would find difficulty with Tagalog literature.

The figure of 75%, which refers to the residents of Banton who do not use Tagalog in the course of a normal day, possibly reflects ethnic pride as well as isolation, which maintains a relatively 'pure' linguistic situation. Bantoanon is the original language on Banton, and the people there see little need of another for general use. Because of having enough well-educated people for most influential roles, such as mayor and teacher, they are relatively self-sufficient and do not have many non-native speakers holding positions on the island. This no doubt is a factor in the maintenance of the Bantoanon language through all strata of the society.

3.5.2 Distribution by denominational affiliation

Table 16 shows the denominations with which the people of the 'weak Tagalog' sample are affiliated.

Denomination	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Roman Catholic	12	80%	73	76%	137	9%	53%
Philippine Independent	2	13%	16	17%	43	5%	37%
Seventh-Day Adventist	1	7%	5	5%	7	14%	71%
Foursquare	0	0%	1	1%	7	0%	14%
Baptist	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0%
Other	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0%

Table 16. Denominational affiliation of the 'weak Tagalog' sample

Key: A Number of those who have minimal understanding of Tagalog who affiliate with the denomination
B Percentage that A is of all who have minimal understanding of Tagalog
C Number of those who use Tagalog minimally who affiliate with the denomination
D Percentage that C is of all who use Tagalog minimally
E Number of native speakers who affiliate with the denomination
F Percentage that A is of E
G Percentage that C is of E

3.5.3 Distribution by place of residence

Table 17 shows data concerning the residence of 'weak Tagalog' people in the poblacion or outside it. As would be expected, we find in this table that almost twice as many people (11%), having weak or no understanding of Tagalog, live in the barrios as live in the poblacion (6%). Also, while the number of people who do not use Tagalog is greater in the barrios than in the poblacions, it is not a significant difference.

Residence	Minimal understanding		Minimal use		Total native speakers	Percent of total with... minimal understanding	minimal use
Poblacion	8	53%	62	65%	132	6%	47%
Barrio	7	47%	34	35%	64	11%	53%

Table 17. Distribution of the weak Tagalog sample by residence

3.5.4 Distribution by age

The age divisions used in this survey are 13-20 years, 21-30 years, 31-50 years, and 50+ years. Table 18 shows the number of individuals in the 'weak Tagalog' sample who fall in the given age groups.

Age	Minimal understanding		Minimal use		Total native speakers	Percent of total with... minimal understanding	minimal use
13-20	0	0%	17	18%	39	0%	44%
21-30	1	7%	18	19%	37	3%	49%
31-50	6	40%	36	38%	72	8%	50%
50+	8	25%	25	26%	46	17%	54%

Table 18. Distribution of the 'weak Tagalog' sample by age

As expected, in both the Minimal understanding and Minimal use columns the percentages increase with age. Of those surveyed from the 13-20 year age group, 100% said they had a good understanding of Tagalog, while 17% of the 50+ year age group acknowledged that they had weak or no understanding of Tagalog. Looking at the figures from a different point of view, we note that speakers not included in the percentages for minimal use of Tagalog do use that language in some circumstances or personal contacts. Thus, we would note that of those in the 13-20 year age group, for example, 56% make more than minimal use of Tagalog. This compares with 46% of those in the 50+ year age group.

Regarding the use of Tagalog, we find in Table 18 that, although it is greatest among those in the 13-20 year age group, it really is not that much greater; there is only a 10% difference over a span of forty years. It would, therefore, seem that, although Bantoanon young people know Tagalog better, they do not speak it significantly more than their parents do.

3.5.5 Distribution by sex

Table 19 shows that of the Bantoanons who do not understand Tagalog well most are women. With regard to the use of Tagalog, however, we note that only 10% more men use it than do women.

Sex	Minimal understanding		Minimal use	
Male	3	20%	43	45%
Female	12	80%	53	55%

Table 19. Distribution of the 'weak Tagalog' sample by sex

3.6 Comparison of the profiles of resident Bantoanon 'islanders' and 'Tablasans'

Two other profiles arrived at in this survey are of Bantoanon residents: these profiles are of those residents who are native speakers of Bantoanon and were born in the area where they were residing at the time of the survey. As noted above, there are two major geographical parts of the Bantoanon area: one consists of the three islands of Banton, Simara, and Sibale, and the other consists of Tablas, where Calatrava and Odiongan are located. It is these two geographical areas that define the two profiles discussed here. Residents who live on the three islands are called 'islanders', and those who live on Tablas are called 'Tablasans'. The total sample of the 'islander' profile is 114 (50% of the total sample interviewed), and the total sample of the 'Tablasan' profile is 72 (31% of the total sample interviewed).

3.6.1 Residential patterns

In this section, we are concerned with any possible correlations there may be between the language Bantoanons use and where they reside. In the subsections below, the patterns of residence of the following groups of Bantoanons are discussed:

(a) The whole group of residents surveyed

(b) Those residents who still have children living in the language area

(c) Those residents who have influence, including those who fit both the 'influential' and the 'trend-setter' profiles

3.6.1.1 Whole group of survey respondents

We consider, first, correlations between language use and residence for the whole set of residents surveyed. In this section, the focus is on whether or not a respondent had resided outside the Bantoanon language area for more than six months (cf. question 24 in the survey questionnaire) at any time, and if he had, where he had lived. Respondents were questioned relative to the following considerations:

(a) Had they ever lived outside the Bantoanon language area, including all five municipalities?

(b) If they had lived outside their own language area, was it in only a Tagalog area, including Mindoro, Marinduque, or Luzon?

(c) If they had lived outside their own language area, had they lived in an area where Tagalog is not spoken? (Those who had lived in both Tagalog and non-Tagalog areas are included here.)

Language areas	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
Bantoanon	52	46%	29	40%
Bantoanon and Tagalog	43	38%	29	40%
Elsewhere	19	16%	14	20%
Totals	114		72	

Table 20. Areas of residence

In Table 20 relatively similar percentages are shown for 'islanders' and 'Tablasans' with respect to the three possible patterns of residence. For example, we note that the percentage of 'islanders' (46%) who have lived only in the Bantoanon language area is somewhat higher than that of the 'Tablasans' (40%). But this would be expected because 'islanders' tend to be more isolated and less mobile than 'Tablasans'.

Another observation is that a somewhat higher percentage of 'Tablasans' have lived in non-Tagalog areas than have 'islanders'. In consideration, though, of the greater social and geographical mobility 'Tablasans' enjoy due to both educational and employment opportunities, as well as the variety of means of transportation available to them on Tablas, this difference is actually not that significant.

3.6.1.2 Children still resident in the Bantoanon area

In this section, our concern is with those Bantoanons who have children still residing in their home language area. In Table 21 we see that of 84 'islanders' and of 45 'Tablasans', a high percentage have at least some children still residing in the Bantoanon area.

	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
Children still residing in the Bantoanon Area	77	92%	42	93%

Table 21. Bantoanons with children still at home

These data indicate a residence pattern of family life that maintains strong filial ties--a pattern that bodes well for the future of the language. Apparently, since there were many young, established families in all municipalities, the whole area is still considered by native speakers to be a good environment in which to raise children. Incidentally, we did not compute the percentage of children who leave the Bantoanon language area, either temporarily or permanently, because our interest was more in the present and future potential for readers within the language area.

3.6.1.3 'Influential' and 'trend-setter' residents

Table 22 shows the percentages of Bantoanon residents--both 'islander' and 'Tablasan'--who are 'influentials' or 'trend-setters'. (See 1.2.4 and 5.1-2 for more information on the 'trend-setter' profile. It may be mentioned again that both the 'influential' and 'trend-setter' profiles represent people who have influence in a community.)

	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
'Influential'	20	18%	17	24%
'Trend-setter'	17	15%	23	32%

Table 22. 'Influential' and 'trend-setter' residents

Reference to Table 22 shows that there is a greater percentage of 'influentials' among the 'Tablasans' than among the 'islanders'--an anticipated result since Odiongan, the major sociopolitical town, is on Tablas. Such reference also shows that there are 'influential' native speakers on the more isolated islands too--a fact borne out by the observation that local political and educational needs were being met by native speakers.

With regard to the 'trend-setter' figures in Table 22, we believe these are somewhat skewed because the survey was taken during vacation time when college students, who are usually studying elsewhere, were home and declared themselves to be residents. This was noticed especially in Odiongan, on Tablas, where the higher percentage (32%) of 'trend-setters' resided. Again, this is not surprising since Odiongan is the sociopolitical centre of the whole Bantoanon area and has its own tertiary institution, Romblon College. It may be noted also that a good number (15%) of 'islanders' are 'trend-setters' too. These data seem to be evidence again of the value Filipinos place in education and social mobility.

3.6.2 Distribution by denominational affiliation

Table 23 shows the denominational affiliation of both 'islander' and 'Tablasan' Bantoanon residents. These data show membership in the Roman Catholic Church and in the Philippine Independent Church, with all others being included in the 'Other' category.

The figures in this table show that the typical 'islander' is Roman Catholic, a result of the long historical association of people on the three islands with that church in Spanish times. It is on the islands, which are the centres of more traditional life, that the Roman Catholic Church has held its strength. Thus, the Philippine Independent Church and other denominations have fewer adherents among the 'islanders', and the adherents these other churches have are unevenly scattered over the three islands.

Denomination	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
	A	B	C	D
Roman Catholic	102	89%	28	39%
Philippine Independent	4	4%	37	51%
Other	8	7%	7	10%

Table 23. Denominational affiliation of the 'islander' and 'trend-setter' samples

Key: A Number of 'islanders' who are affiliated with the denomination
B Percentage of 'islanders' who are affiliated with the denomination
C Number of 'Tablasans' who are affiliated with the denomination
D Percentage of 'Tablasans' who are affiliated with the denomination

A 'Tablasan' is more likely to be non-Roman Catholic, as indicated by the figures 51% Philippine Independent and 10% Other. Historically, the Philippine Independent Church separated from the Roman Catholic Church, but it still adheres to many of the Roman Catholic doctrines and traditions, though it perceives itself as being more Protestant, specifically of the Episcopalian persuasion. The other, mainly Protestant, denominations have a greater following among 'Tablasans'. Though the figure of 10% does not seem to be particularly significant, still the variety of the churches and the existance of a Bible college in Odiongan show that the Protestants have a rather strong position there.

The non-Roman Catholic strength on Tablas may indicate that those who disagreed, or were not satisfied, with the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the more innovative members of the 'islander' society, were the founders of, and settlers in, the Tablas municipalities. The language has been kept during this process of migration and settlement, although it has been affected by the increased contact with other groups.

3.6.3 Bantoanon subdialect areas

The responses we received to question 25 in the survey questionnaire--a question that reads, 'Where else do they speak like you do?'--fell into two groups: those who considered all five municipalities to have the same language and those who distinguished between the language spoken on the three islands and that spoken on Tablas. This distinction indicated to us that there are two dialect areas in the Bantoanon language area, namely, the three islands and Tablas Island. The results obtained from these responses are tabulated in Table 24.

Area chosen	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
Home area	46	40%	3	4%
Five municipalities	58	51%	42	58%

Table 24. Dialects within the Bantoanon area

A considerable number of 'islanders' considered the dialect spoken on the three islands to be distinct from that spoken on Tablas. This may be a traditional view, although some 'islanders' would not comment about Tablas since they had never been there. Even though, on the other hand, many of them would surely have met Bantoanon speakers from Tablas, they may not have considered these people necessarily to be representative of the whole community. It is probable that 'islanders' would be quicker than 'Tablasans' themselves to recognize foreign elements in the Tablas dialect.

More or less the same percentages of 'islanders' and 'Tablasans' considered the dialect of the five municipalities to be in some sense the same. Further, because 'Tablasans' are aware of the historical roots of their language and they meet many 'islanders' as the latter pass through Tablas--although the 'Tablasans' may have never visited the islands--they are less conscious of any foreign elements in their own speech, and more of them would be likely to see the five municipalities as a unit.

These data indicate that there is a boundary of some kind within the Bantoanon language area--a boundary that separates two geographical dialect areas, namely, the three islands and Tablas. Probably the dialect of the 'islanders' would be the 'purer' one, having deeper and older forms of expression and being less influenced by neighbouring languages.

3.6.4 Language attitudes

In this section we discuss the attitudes of the 'islanders' and the 'Tablasans' as these attitudes relate to the following considerations:

(a) The location of the dialect centre, that is, where the 'best' vernacular is spoken

(b) Their first choice of language--Bantoanon, Tagalog, or English--for their children to learn

(c) Bantoanon literacy or literature

3.6.4.1 Dialect centre

Respondents had a high degree of pride in the dialect spoken in their home municipalities, as well as pride in their own language of Bantoanon. That it was 'their own' was an important reason for it's being the 'best'.

In Table 25 are tabulated the numbers of 'islanders' and 'Tablasans' who chose Banton or Odiongan as the dialect centre. (These figures include those who made their selection on the grounds that the dialect was their own.)

Municipality	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
Banton	69	61%	15	21%
Odiongan	3	3%	40	56%

Table 25. Where the 'best' dialect is spoken

Most 'islanders' (61%) chose Banton either because of residence or because of historical or linguistic factors. Evidence of this was comments like 'It has the most beautiful intonation' or malumanay 'It is slowly and gently [spoken],' which is a judgment of high merit.

In Table 25 we see that 'Tablasans' (56%) preferred Odiongan. This preference was either because of residence or because of present sociopolitical prestige. Some younger students made their choices in ignorance of the fact that their language had originally come from Banton. Also, some 'Tablasans' may have made their choices thinking that the dialect spoken on the three islands had less prestige and was, therefore, from the 'back-woods', as it were, or was 'old-fashioned'--although they did not express this.

3.6.4.2 First choice of language for one's children

A high percentage of both groups said that Bantoanon was their first choice of the language they wanted their children to learn. These figures are seen in Table 26. This table also shows the number of those who chose Tagalog first and did not choose Bantoanon at all (see Appendix C, 4 Evaluation of survey design). This would include some who would naturally want their children to learn Bantoanon, but did not mention it, since it would happen, or had already happened, in the normal course of things. These were only a small percentage, though, so the conclusions are not changed.

First choice	'Islander'		'Tablasan'	
Bantoanon	88	77%	43	60%
Tagalog	7	6%	3	4%

Table 26. First choice of language for one's children

A high percentage of people from both dialect areas chose Bantoanon first, but the percentage of 'Tablasans' is lower, probably because of the greater influence of other languages. Another variable was the different ways we who conducted the survey approached the question of whether or not to remind respondents that Bantoanon was a choice also.

3.6.4.3 Bantoanon literacy

Most 'Islanders' (100%) and 'Tablasans' (94%) expressed interest in both Bantoanon literacy and Bantoanon literature. This interest is supported by the productivity we observed in the language, as illustrated by letters, local newssheets temporarily produced by innovative individuals, and public signs. 'Tablasans' who were indifferent to, or disapproved of, Bantoanon literacy had those views either because they were native speakers of other languages, such as Chinese or Looknon, or because they wanted to choose a high prestige language like Filipino or English--a language that assures social mobility and ease of communication in a sociopolitical centre like Odiongan.

4. Attitudes toward languages

4.1 Attitude toward and use of Bantoanon

Except for a small group of college-age students on Tablas, most Bantoanons have an attitude of pride toward their language. This conclusion is drawn from the following observations:

(a) Bantoanon is the language used in the home, at the market, and with friends (see Table 5).

(b) It is the language Bantoanons use with each other in the municipios in conductiing official business and in handling political matters.

(c) In the schools, teachers, but not students, said that sometimes they use Bantoanon in the lower grades in order to explain things not understood in Tagalog.

(d) There is the following evidence of literary productivity by Bantoanons in their vernacular:

(i) A presidential decree, translated into Bantoanon, on the subject of 'Probation'

(ii) A small collection of Bantoanon proverbs, published with Gabriel Fabella's short history (in English) of the area

(iii) Poems, songs, and prayers composed in Bantoanon and printed to mark the sixtieth anniversary of Banton as a municipality

(iv) The Mass, along with liturgy, readings, and hymns, in Bantoanon. The people in Concepcion are particularly proud of this, and each week two or three banners are prepared for hanging at the front of the church. These banners bear, in four-inch red letters, portions of the vernacular Scripture readings or the theme for the week.

(v) A number of local newssheets, produced in the past at the instigation of one of the parish priests

(vi) Occasional signs in the vernacular

(e) Use of Bantoanon by the mayor of Calatrava in a speech on a public occasion. He began with a note of thanks in Tagalog, but as he progressed and increased in fervour, he changed to Bantoanon in making his exhortation to the audience.

(f) Testimonies and exhortations, almost entirely in Bantoanon, given in public by church lay people on two separate occasions, on different islands, and at different parachurch functions

(g) The following comments by respondents in this survey about their own language:

(i) 'It is worthwhile making [literature in Bantoanon].'

(ii) 'It is sweet to hear because it is our own dialect.'

(iii) 'It rhymes.'

(iv) 'We realize how it sounds because it is inborn in us.'

(h) A positive attitude toward the language on the part of Roman Catholic priests in the area, as illustrated by the following:

(i) In Calatrava, Father Baranda, an Ilongo, learned Bantoanon and preached consistently in it. He has since been replaced by a native-speaking Bantoanon priest.

(ii) In Concepcion, Father McKillip (see 2.7), an American, learned Bantoanon; he has translated the liturgy, readings, and hymns into it; and he preaches in it.

(iii) In Corcuera, Father Conde, a Romblomanon, who had been in the parish only two months at the time we met him, was learning Bantoanon rapidly.

(iv) In Banton, Father Fabriquel, a native of Simara and thus a native Bantoanon speaker, was preaching in Bantoanon.

4.2 Attitude toward and use of Tagalog

Although the area where Bantoanon is spoken is in the region of the Visayas, the trade language is not Visayan, or Cebuano, but Tagalog, hence the inclusion of the Bantoanon area in the Southern Tagalog region. For a long time the trade language of the neighbouring island of Romblon was Hiligaynon; however, Tagalog is now replacing it. In the Bantoanon area, Hiligaynon has never been the lingua franca; Tagalog has been--to the extent that a lingua franca was needed.

Tagalog is spoken by some 181 (or 92%) of the respondents in our survey (see Table 4). It is also the language--after Bantoanon and before English--that most parents (62%) want their children to learn (see Table 29), and it is always one of the languages chosen for children to learn.

Tagalog radio programs are very popular. In this connection, Father McKillip made the following comment in Concepcion, on Sibale: 'Twenty years ago the people didn't know Tagalog and wouldn't listen to it. Now, because of radio programs and education in Tagalog, they understand it well and do not turn off a message in Tagalog.' In Concepcion, though, there is very little use of Tagalog, since, for one reason, not even the church expects people to attend a mass when it is in a language other than Bantoanon.

In summary, Tagalog seems to be thought of as the language of politics and polite society since it is used for such activities as public speaking and formal, memorized prayer, while Bantoanon is the language of the heart.

4.3 Attitude toward and use of English

Of those surveyed, 63% claimed that they know English, but for many of these it is a language they used only in school. Those who are not college graduates rarely feel confident in using English--especially when they are in the presence of surveyors who are native English speakers. When many respondents were first approached about participating in the survey, they needed to be assured that the questions would be in their own language so that they would not be shamed by their lack of understanding of English.

English is a language that can be learned only at school. It cannot be 'picked up' by living in some area in the Philippines where English is spoken. Even those fluent in English are sometimes embarrassed to use it with native speakers of English. English has prestige because it is known that many books are written in it and it is useful overseas. But for those who are not scholars or international travellers, it is of no practical use in the Bantoanon area. Only once during the course of our survey did we hear English on a public occasion: it was a funeral oration by a visiting interim priest from Iloilo for a Calatravanhon man.

4.4 Attitude toward and use of neighbouring languages

For our purposes, one language is neighbour to another when the first language is adjacent geographically to the second or it is the language of a group that has exerted political influence in the area where the second is spoken (see 2.5). The languages that are related in one or both of these ways to Bantoanon are Looknon, Romblomanon, and Tagalog.

For Sibale, Tagalog is the neighbouring language, and Sibale's communication with a Tagalog area is by the daily motor boat from Concepcion to Pinamalayan, on Mindoro.

For Banton, the neighbouring languages are Romblomanon and Tagalog, and Banton's communication with these areas is by the biweekly mailboat from Banton to Romblon and the weekly contact via Sibale with the Tagalog town of Pinamalayan.

For Simara, the neighbouring languages are Romblomanon and Tagalog, and Simara's contact with these areas is by the biweekly mailboat to Romblon and the weekly boat to the Tagalog port of Batangas, on Luzon.

For Calatrava, the neighbouring languages are Romblomanon and Looknon, both of which are geographically contiguous. Romblomanon is spoken in San Agustin, which is one-half hour by jeep to the east, and Looknon is spoken in San Andres, which is one-half hour by jeep to the south-west.

For Odiongan, the neighbouring language is Looknon, which actually surrounds it on three sides. Looknon is spoken in the two neighbouring municipalities of San Andres and Looc. San Andres is one-half hour by jeep to the north, and Looc is one hour by jeep to the south-east. Romblomanon, the language spoken in Romblon, the provincial capital, is spoken in San Agustin, which is a two-hour jeep ride from Odiongan and is actually on the route to the capital itself. There is naturally considerable traffic between Odiongan and Romblon, which are major centres in the province.

Another neighbouring language for Odionganons is Tagalog, which is spoken on the island of Mindoro to the north-west. Odiongan has a large port with almost daily contact with Mindoro, with weekly ships to and from Manila, and with contact by ship with many other parts of the Philippines.

Since Romblon is the provincial capital and is geographically closer to the three islands of Banton, Simara, and Sibale, Romblomanon has more prestige among them than does Looknon. But even so, the three islands are linguistically isolated and, thus, decidedly less bi- or trilingual than are the Bantoanon towns of Calatrava and Odiongan, on the island of Tablas, where as many as three languages may be spoken along one jeep route.

Table 27 shows the number of people in each area able to speak Tagalog, Romblomanon, and Looknon.

	Neighbouring language								
	Tagalog			Romblomanon			Looknon		
Area	Spoken	Weak	Not spoken	Spoken	Weak	Not spoken	Spoken	Weak	Not spoken
Banton [sample=40]	33 82.5%	5 12.5%	2 5%	9 22.5%	4 10%	27 67.5%	0 0%	0 0%	40 100%
Corcuera [sample=39]	39 100%	0 0%	0 0%	15 38%	3 8%	21 54%	2 5%	1 3%	36 92%
Concepcion [sample=37]	33 89%	0 0%	4 11%	11 30%	1 3%	25 67%	0 0%	0 0%	37 100%
Calatrava [sample=29]	24 83%	4 14%	1 3%	19 66%	1 3%	9 31%	6 21%	3 10%	20 69%
Odiongan [sample=48]	48 100%	0 0%	0 0%	20 42%	3 6%	25 52%	19 40%	2 4%	27 56%

Table 27. Use of neighbouring languages

Key:——— Solid lines are used for actual neighbouring languages.
–·–·– This kind of line is used for a provincial language that is not neighbouring.
– – – This kind of line indicates that the language meant is Filipino.

The attitude toward neighbouring languages seems to be that, while it would be useful to be able to speak them, it is not essential. Thus, those with an interest, such as employment or marriage, in a neighbouring area will learn that language, but the majority do not bother. And since neither Romblomanon nor Looknon has a significant body of written material, one would learn these languages only to speak them. As far as Bantoanon and Romblomanon are conceerned, when a Bantoanon speaker and a Romblomanon speaker work together, they are likely to converse in Tagalog or Romblomanon. Romblomanons hold that Bantoanon, or Asiq, is too difficult for them to learn.

5. Predicted changes in language use

5.1 Profile of a Bantoanon 'trend-setter'

As a possible help in predicting trends, a profile, called 'trend-setter', was posited, with the following defining criteria:

(a) Native speaker

(b) In the 13-30 year age group, the age group where language change would be most likely to occur due to peer or status pressures and which would affect the generation of children born after the completion of this survey

(c) Student in, or graduate from, high school or college

Because it was thought that residence in Odiongan might make a difference in some of the language habits of this group, the Odiongan and non-Odiongan samples of 'trend-setters' were considered separately. Odiongan has a much larger urban population than the other five areas do (see Table 1), but the percentage of Bantoanon speakers in that urban population is lower by about 10%. Odiongan has Romblon College, a large port, and access to the provincial airport--all factors that could have an effect on the rate of change in the language, if change were occurring in the 'trend-setter' group.

5.2 Actual use of language by 'trend-setters'

Any differences between the actual use of language by 'trend-setters' and that by the rest of the language group is of potential significance in any attempt to identify possible patterns of language change. The responses by 'trend-setters' to question 11 in the questionnaire--which reads, 'In what language do you speak to your parents, children, and friends?'--are of value in this respect. (Note: The * after Children in Table 28 means that not all single people answered this part of question 11.)

Reference to Table 28 shows that, while one must take into account the small size of the samples being considered, not only is there no significant difference between the Odiongan and non-Odiongan groups, but also there is no significant difference between the 'trend-setters' and the total native-speaking group. In other words, young students and graduates are using language in essentially the same way their parents, grandparents, and non-scholastic contemporaries do.

In Table 28 the rows represent languages and the columns, the person(s) spoken to. The figures on the right in each column are the percentages of the sample who answered the question. The figures in parentheses are the corresponding percentages, taken from Table 5, of the the entire native speaker sample.

Language used by...	Language they use with...					
Odionganons [sample=14]	Parents		Children*		Friends	
Bantoanon	13	93% (98%)	6	86% (97%)	14	100% (99%)
Tagalog	1	7% (5%)	1	14% (12%)	3	21% (20%)
English	1	7% (3%)	0	0% (4%)	2	14% (9%)
Non-Odionganons [sample=28]						
Bantoanon	27	96% (98%)	12	100% (97%)	28	100% (99%)
Tagalog	1	4% (5%)	2	17% (12%)	7	25% (20%)
English	0	0% (3%)	0	0% (4%)	0	0% (9%)

Table 28. Use of language by 'trend-setters'

5.3 Looking to the children

Question 22a of the survey questionnaire asks, 'Are there languages that you want to see your children learn to speak? Number these in order of preference.' Of the respondents to this question, some did not even mention Bantoanon as one of the languages. When they were reminded, however, they replied, 'My children already know how to speak Bantoanon,' apparently indicating that they did not consider Bantoanon to be an option.

The number of native speakers who responded to this question was 162. Of these, 136 (84%) preferred Bantoanon as their children's first language, 21 (13%) preferred Tagalog, and 5 (3%) preferred English. Of the 16% who did not choose Bantoanon, some--it is impossible to say how many--were among those referred to above who said, 'My children already know Bantoanon'. The most frequent order of preference was Bantoanon, first; Tagalog, second; and English, third.

Sometimes a neighbouring language was included in the order of preference, especially if the spouse of the respondent was native to the area of the chosen neighbouring language. Of these neighbouring languages, Romblomanon was preferred more often than was Looknon. One reason may be that, because Romblomanon is a neighbour of more municipalities, it has more prestige than Looknon has. Another reason may be that it has more linguistic features in common with Bantoanon than Looknon does (Zorc 1977:199). In Table 29 are tabulated the results of this survey of the native speaking population, of the 'influential' sample, and of the 'trend-setter' sample with respect to the language they prefer their children to learn.

Table 29 shows that a somewhat greater percentage of 'trend-setters' and 'influentials' than of the total number of respondents would prefer that their children learn Tagalog first. Whether this is the expression of an ideal or a genuine desire is uncertain. What is certain, though, is that among the 'trend-setters', the same group where five preferred that their children learn Tagalog first, only three actually spoke to their children in Tagalog, and none spoke to them in English (cf. Table 28).

Languages preferred	Total native speakers		'Influentials'		'Trend-setters'	
1 Bantoanon 2 Tagalog 3 English (Subset of 1 Bantoanon)	101	62%	23	66%	11	55%
1 Bantoanon	136	83%	27	77%	14	70%
1 Tagalog	22	14%	6	17%	5	25%
1 English	6	4%	2	6%	1	5%

Table 29. Languages preferred for one's children

Because 70% of the 'trend-setters' and 83% of the total Bantoanon population prefer that Bantoanon be their children's first language, it seems that there is still a high regard for the Bantoanon language, which is a definite hope for its future. It seems safe to say that Bantoanon will continue to be the first preference of the people in that language area.

5.4 Predicted changes in language use

As we consider the results of this sociolinguistic survey, it is our view that Bantoanon will continue to be the language used most in all areas of life, for example, in thinking, in talking with family and friends, and in preaching and public speaking, on the three islands, especially on the most isolated ones: Banton and Sibale. Further, in the poblacion of Odiongan and to a lesser extent in Calatrava, Filipino will come to be better understood, with more understanding of the deeper areas of meaning. Such an increase in understanding, we submit, will be due to the continued use of Filipino in the education system and greater contact with outsiders in either the more cosmopolitan town of Odiongan or the centres of education, business, and politics elsewhere.

It is probable that the Bantoanon language spoken in the Tablas area will change, having drawn upon Tagalog as well as perhaps upon Romblomanon and Looknon. We predict that in a generation Bantoanon on Tablas will show even heavier Tagalog influence, and in that area Tagalog may even be the preferred language. In the three islands area, however, with its population of 21,281 native speakers (see 1975 census), the language will tend to remain 'purer', with innovations that reflect further development within Bantoanon rather than outside influence from Tagalog. Also, pride of language will be a protection for Bantoanon in the islands from radical change. Even with change, however, it seems likely that the present bilingual stability between Bantoanon and Tagalog will continue.

As previously mentioned, the use of Bantoanon would probably become greater as compared with Romblomanon if the provincial capital were ever relocated in Odiongan. But still, even though Odiongan is progressive and would perhaps be an advantageous location for the provincial capital, it would truly be a major change if the provincial political centre were to be moved from a site having the historical prestige Romblon has.

6. This sociolinguistic dialect survey

6.1 Aims

For the five municipalities that make up the Bantoanon language area it was our purpose to determine:

(a) The people's attitudes toward their own Bantoanon dialect

(b) The extent to which the people currently use Bantoanon

(c) Possible future trends in the use of the Bantoanon language

(d) Whether Bantoanon literature would be read

(e) Which Bantoanon dialect is most central linguistically and, having been least influenced by neighbouring languages, is 'purest'

(f) Which Bantoanon dialect is perceived by native speakers to be the 'best'. This information was desired in order that the best location for language learning and the work of a translation team could be chosen.

6.2 Procedures

In order to accomplish aims (a-d) and (f), we conducted a sociolinguistic survey, making use of the questionnaire shown in Appendix C, 1. The results of the survey have been augmented by personal observations we made during the four months we lived in the language area, during which time our base was Calatrava. During the first two months, we were involved in learning the language, and during the latter two months we conducted this sociolinguistic survey, which was done in the vernacular and included the five municipalities of the Bantoanon area.

Aim (e) was accomplished by our taking word lists in each municipality--word lists that later were analysed and served as a preliminary sample of lexicostatistical data.

6.2.1 Sociolinguistic procedures

6.2.1.1 Survey instruments

The questionnaire (see Appendix C, 1) was prepared in a format that made possible the processing of the responses by computer. For such processing, the unnumbered matrices used initially had to be remade so that possible responses could be numbered. This in turn required that questions be reworded so that only relevant data would be obtained and unnecessary information would be eliminated. The numbered responses were then processed by computer, and the results were thus obtained in that way (see Appendix C, 2-3). It seems that, except for some ambiguities, which are discussed in Appendix C, 4, the questionnaire was successful.

6.2.1.2 Methods

First, the questionnaire, including both questions and possible answers, was translated into Bantoanon. Then, in conducting the actual survey, we did at least twenty-six interviews in each poblacion and seven in each of two barangays. In Odiongan we did thirty-six interviews because a larger proportion of the population lived there.

This survey was a random one, which we conducted by visiting, say, every fifth house on the right side of the streets running east and west. We tried to survey all geographical sectors of a town. Where possible in a given house, we would interview members of two different generations, one a male and the other a female. In order to obtain more information relevant to the future speakers of Bantoanon, we tried to do more interviews of people under fifty years of age.

With regard to this random method of surveying, it was successful as long as there was flexibility in dealing with situations such as when the occupants of a given house were gone, or only the women were at home while all the men were gone for some activity, such as building a boat at the waterfront or watching others who were so engaged. Also, in some cases we seemed to miss some religious groups. The main reason perhaps for that was that all the members of such groups lived in fringe areas of the town or in other barrios--areas that we failed to reach in the survey because we had already completed the required quota of geographical sectors.

Another consideration with regard to our survey method is this. In order that future trends and prestige factors might be more easily seen, it would probably have been better to aim at surveying a specific number of people in the community who were known to be members of the 'influential' (see 3.4) and the 'trend-setter' (see 5.1) profiles--in addition of course to those not in these profiles. In our random survey, information about these profiles was obtained quite inadvertantly. Yet it is the people who

fit these profiles who probably most influence the trends a language will follow in the future. (See Appendix C, 4 for the observations and comments, regarding language usage, we made during our time in the Bantoanon area.)

6.2.1.3 Analysis

The responses to the questionnaire were processed by computer (see Appendix C, 3). In this processing, the computer printed three two-dimensional matrices with these co-ordinates: true/true, false/false, and true/false. An aid to us in organizing the data was the computer's printing the total number of true responses for each question. Also, our analysis of the questions was assisted by the computer's application of Boolean logic ('AND/OR/NOR/NAND') to the data.

By using the answers to certain questions, we posited some profiles, which were then used as a basis for comparing data. For example, 'influential' was a profile used in analysing data from the upper socioeconomic strata; 'trend-setter', a profile used in analysing data from the younger age and educated strata; and 'islander' and 'Tablasan', profiles used in analysing data from geographical areas. The defining features of these profiles could also be combined to define even more limited profiles, such as one comprising only individuals who are both 'islanders' and 'influentials'. The membership of the various profiles could then be studied to learn such things as, for example, how many preferred that their children learn Tagalog first.

6.2.2 Lexicostatistical comparisons

6.2.2.1 Word lists employed

Two word lists were employed in this phase of the survey. One, which was the 101 Philippine word list ('101'), is a master list that was compiled by Dale Savage of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in approximately 198[illegible] (cf. Appendix D, 1). The other list, which was used in conjunction with [illegible]' list, is the Expanded Philippine word list ('372'), containi[illegible]ms, which was compiled by Lawrence Reid and used in the research he [illegible] his 1971 work on Philippine minor languages. For the cognate counts, only the items in the '101' list were used. The additional items on the '372' list were taken for future reference if needed.

6.2.2.2 Methods

In each of the five municipalities, three word lists were independently elicited. Then, the fifteen word lists were compared for cognates in two stages:

(a) First, the lists obtained from the three individuals in each municipality were compared: A with B, A with C, and B with C, and from each comparison a cognate percentage was computed. Then from each group of three percentages a mean cognate percentage was computed for each town.

(b) Second, a comparison was made between municipalities. For this, the three lists from each municipality were grouped together, and then the combined lists of each municipality were compared with each other. If, in the comparison of the lists of two towns, the form for a given lexical item in one of the lists of one town was cognate with the form for the same lexical item in one of the lists of the other town, the towns were recorded as having cognate forms for that lexical item. After these comparisons were completed, cognate percentages were computed for each pair of municipalities.

Some difficulty was experienced in working with the '101' list. (See Appendix D, 2-4 for a summary of these difficulties and for some suggestions for adapting this list for future work in the Visayan area.) Because of that difficulty, seven items on that list were not used in the lexicostatistical comparisons done in connection with this survey. The total of the remaining items was 94. The eliminated items were: 11 hand (and arm), 14 leg (and foot), 36 stick (of wood), 45 worm, 58 woods, 61 lake, and 62 river.

6.2.2.3 Analysis

Table 30 gives the mean cognate percentages for each municipality (see Appendix D, 3).

Area	Mean cognate percentage
Banton	97.9%
Corcuera	97.1%
Odiongan	94.6%
Concepcion	92.5%
Calatrava	84.4%

Table 30. Mean cognate percentages

Multiple glosses for a given English word caused deviation from 100% in the comparisons tabulated in Table 30. Some multiple glosses are likely to be recorded in any lexicostatistical survey; however, the higher incidence of multiple glosses in the Calatrava lists suggests that the Calatravanhon dialect is less 'pure' than that of, say, Banton.

In fact, the Calatravanhon dialect is the least 'pure' of the dialects of the five municipalities. The reason for this is probably because Calatrava is a small centre bounded by two languages, Romblomanon and Looknon, with each of which there is some degree of interaction. Another consideration is that Calatravanhon has more linguistic similarity with

Romblomanon than it does with Looknon. Banton, on the other hand, with only the weekly mailboat from Romblon--in contrast with the service Calatrava enjoys from the jeeps that pass hourly between Odiongan and San Agustin, both of which are ports of access to Tagalog areas--is the most geographically isolated of the Bantoanon areas, and that probably accounts for the relative 'purity' of its dialect.

Table 31 gives the cognate percentages arrived at for each pair of municipalities. If any elicited word in any of the lists from one community was cognate with the corresponding elicited word in any of the lists from the other community, the two communities were scored as having cognate forms for that item.

Concepcion				
98.9%	Banton			
96.8%	97.9%	Corcuera		
95.7%	96.8%	97.9%	Calatrava	
95.7%	96.8%	96.8%	98.9%	Odiongan

Table 31. Cognate percentages between municipalities

Table 31 shows Banton and Corcuera to be almost equally central linguistically. Cognate percentages between these two areas and between them and others do not fall below 96.8%. The Banton dialect is most closely related to that of Concepcion, with 98.9%; then it is next most closely related to the dialect of Corcuera, with 97.9%; and, finally, it is related with equal closeness to the dialects of Odiongan and Calatrava, with 96.8%. The problem of multiple glosses for English words seems to have been minimized in this analysis by our considering two dialects to be cognate with respect to a given lexical item if one item from a group of three lists was cognate with the corresponding item in another group of three lists.

6.3 The opinion of the people

One of the questions in the survey questionnaire was, 'Where do they speak the best Bantoanon?' (see aim (f) in 6.1). Most respondents chose their home area, and the reason given for doing so was, 'Because I live here', which would seem to indicate a measure of pride in one's language. Out of 230 respondents, however, a number chose not their home area, but another, and that number seemed to us to be significant. In Table 32 are tabulated those who chose an area other than their own as the place where the 'best' Bantoanon is spoken.

A	B	C	D
Banton	190	55	28.9%
Odiongan	169	14	8.3%
Corcuera	188	4	2.1%
Concepcion	187	1	0.5%
Calatrava	189	0	0.0%

Table 32. Where the 'best' Bantoanon is spoken

Key: A Home areas
B Total number of respondents who are non-residents of the A areas
C Number of B respondents who chose this A area as the place where the 'best' Bantoanon is spoken
D Percentage that C is of B

Table 32 shows that, in addition to the 40 people interviewed in Banton, 55 others (28.9%) from outside Banton also chose it as the place where the 'best' Bantoanon is spoken.

No other municipality had as high a rating with non-residents as did Banton. Odiongan was next, perhaps because of its being the sociopolitical centre of the Bantoanon area, but with 8.3% its rating was much lower. But a low rating for Odiongan would be expected in view of its greater contact with outside languages. Thus, Odiongan would not be where the 'purest', and therefore not the 'best', Bantoanon could be learnt. Again, the reasons for this are lexicostatistical evidence and the greater number of non-Bantoanon speakers in the Odiongan urban area (see Table 1)--a fact that implies greater influence from other languages on the Bantoanon spoken there.

Lexicostatistically, the dialects of Banton and Corcuera are close (cf. Table 31), but due to sociolinguistic evidence, Corcuera cannot be considered to have the 'best' dialect. The reason is that the intonation of its dialect, described as 'like being angry', is low in prestige in contrast with the intonation of Banton's dialect, which, being described as malumanay 'slow and gentle', is considered high in prestige.

Traditionally, the Banton dialect has been held to be the high prestige, original Bantoanon dialect, and that dialect is known to have 'deep' elements not known elsewhere, especially on Tablas. Banton is the traditional, old centre of the language area, but, at the same time, there is evidence that the language--with both written and oral literature--is productive. Banton, therefore, is not a 'stagnant backwater' place. Yet it seems that it should be kept in mind that, because Odiongan is more and more becoming a gateway to the outside world and to the national culture, any efforts at translation into Bantoanon would have to take the dialect there into account as well. Perhaps this would not be necessary until a later stage in language learning, but if not then, it should certainly be done in the translation stage.

Native speakers perceive two definite Bantoanon subdialect areas, which correspond to the three islands area and to Tablas (cf. 3.6.3). Smaller dialect areas in each municipality are also recognized. The two principal subdialects are especially evident on each island because of the differences in intonation patterns and in lexicon. These two subdialect areas also seem to correlate with the people's choices of Banton or Odiongan as dialect centre. These two centres would have to be considered if it were desired to produce Bantoanon literature acceptable to the whole area. Each centre is affected by different prestige factors.

6.4 Results

In secticn 6.1 we stated the aims of this survey. We now give the findings that have been made, which we believe satisfy those aims.

(a) The following findings were made through the sociolinguistic survey and personal observation:

(i) Bantoanons are decidedly proud of their language, but that does not prevent them from being willing to make use of another language if that will mean social mobility.

(ii) Bantoanons in their language area use their language almost exclusively among themselves. Filipino is used if one is concerned with political matters or about prestige, or if one is speaking with outsiders. Other neighbouring languages may be used if one is speaking with persons who speak those languages.

(iii) The future of the Bantoanon language appears to be good, although some change can be expected in the Odionganon dialect due to increased use of Filipino in that increasingly urbanized centre.

(iv) Bantoanons have a positive attitude toward literature in their vernacular, as is evident from their own attempts at producing such literature. This literature would be supplementary to whatever is provided in Filipino and English in the school system.

(b) The finding made through lexicostatistical comparison is that the Banton dialect linguistically is the most central and, being the least influenced by other languages, is the ‘purest’ dialect in the Bantoanon language area.

(c) The finding made through both the sociolinguistic survey and lexicostatistical comparison is that the ‘best’ Bantoanon dialect, in the sense of having the highest prestige and most beautiful sounding intonation, is spoken on Banton. We would, therefore, judge this to be the best location for language learning. At the same time, it would be necessary to take the Odionganon dialect into account before translations were made or literature was published because Odiongan, with the largest population, is the centre of sociopolitical life in the Bantoanon area. The prestige the Banton dialect has is due to its being the 'purest' dialect and its having the most beautiful sounding intonation. Odiongan also has prestige, but it is prestige as a major business centre, which is the point of contact with the outside world. Ideally, literature would have to be in a form of dialect acceptable at both these centres.

7. Summary

Bantoanon is, by far, the language most used in the Bantoanon area. In view, therefore, of the way Bantoanon is currently used and in view of the changes predicted in its use, it would seem that not only would there be readers for Bantoanon literature now but also there would be for many years to come.

With regard to Tagalog, it is understood by most people. Also, if there were to be a widening of the use of Tagalog, it would seem that this would occur in the Tablas area first.

The island of Banton is the place from where the forefathers of all Bantoanons migrated. It is the linguistic centre of the language area, and that island is thought by the people to be the area where the 'best' Bantoanon is spoken. Also, Banton, on the basis of sociolinguistic evidence, would be the best place for those planning to work in the language to do the major part of their language learning, but when it comes to translation and publication of literature, the Bantoanon dialect used would have to be understood in Odiongan also.

NOTES

[1] This sociolinguistic survey was conducted by M. Ruth Gordon and Heather J. Kilgour under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during the months of April and May of 1983.

[2] Filipino, constructed on a Tagalog base, is the national language of the Philippines. It is used in politics, education, media, and business, and for communication between those of different language groups throughout the country. Since Tagalog is a neighbouring language geographically to Bantoanon, it is not surprising that Bantoanons have become more fluent in Filipino than in other neighbouring languages. As the national language it is the means of upward social mobility.

[3] In the past, Hiligaynon (cf. Grimes 1984:459) was the lingua franca of the Visayan islands, which included Panay and Romblon. Following the coming of the Spanish to Cebu, Spanish loanwords came to be used in Bisayan languages. Later, the Visayas were divided into smaller political units, and at that time the islands of Romblon began to be governed from Panay.

The language that became dominant during this era was Hiligaynon, which is now spoken in coastal areas of Iloilo, on Panay, and in western Negros Occidental (Zorc 1977:14). Sometimes this language is called Ilongo, but this name is said to refer to the speakers of the language, not to the language itself. Hiligaynon has, therefore, exerted an influence over Romblon for some two to three hundred years. Now in the twentieth century, with Filipino, the national language, gaining in influence, Hiligaynon seems to be declining. Or perhaps it is that speakers are learning more Filipino, while still retaining fluency in Hiligaynon.

[4] Romblomanon (cf. Grimes 1984:464) is the vernacular of Romblon Island, nearby Sibuyan island, and San Agustin, formerly called Badajoz, on the north-eastern side of Tablas. After the period when they were governed from Panay, these islands were made a separate province, with the provincial capital being located in the town of Romblon. Romblon Island has the best natural harbour among these islands, and it is noted for its quality marble. That Romblomanon is spoken in the capital of the province has given it the highest prestige among all the languages spoken in the province.

[5] Bantoanon and Tagalog are specifically mentioned because the relationship between these two languages seems to be the most important as far as the goals of the survey are concerned. It was our impression that there are also other important language interrelationships that are of varying degrees of stability. The relationship between Romblomanon and Bantoanon appeared to be relatively stable, whereas that between English and Bantoanon and between Hiligaynon and Bantoanon were less stable, with both English and Hiligaynon losing ground. These impressions, however, would require further verification before they could be regarded as established. The stability of the relationship between Bantoanon and Tagalog means, from our perspective, that Bantoanon is not likely to die out within the next generation or more and that Bantoanon could still be a viable project for vernacular literature and translation.

[6] Poblacion = The major urban center in a municipio. It is under the jurisdiction of a barangay captain, but it is also the location of the office of the mayor, whose jurisdiction covers the municipio as a whole.

[7] Barrio = The village or neighborhood on which the barangay centers; it is under the jurisdiction of a barangay captain.

[8] Sibale is the present name of the island formerly called Maestre de Campo.

[9] Dispoholnon (Zorc 1977:14, 16, 32) is the dialect spoken in San Andres, formerly called Despujols, which lies on the western side of Tablas Island between the Bantoanon municipalities of Calatrava and Odiongan. Dispoholnon is referred to by Bantoanons from Calatrava as Manakaran 'like that', which is Tuyar kinaq in Bantoanon.

Dispoholnon is a companion dialect to that spoken in Looc, where it is called Looknon. Other dialects of the same language are Bulalakawnon and Alcantaranon. In the 1975 census, Dispoholnon is referred to as Looknon, and its speakers are counted with the Romblomanons. From the responses received during this survey, it would seem that this language is more closely related to Aklanon or Kinaray-a, as Zorc (1977:199) indicates.

[10] *Asiq* ‘why?’ used by both Bantoanon and Romblomanon speakers, is a common name for Bantoanon. This name seems to have arisen from the local contrastive use of *asiq* ‘why?’ used in Bantoanon, and *basiq* ‘why?’ used in Romblomanon. *Asiq* is frequent in many Bantoanon expressions, and it seems to mean more than the English word ‘why?’ does. (See note 13 regarding the way vernacular forms in this paper are written.)

[11] Region IV is the Southern Tagalog region, in which Romblon Province has been included. Previously, Romblon Province was in the same Visayan region as Capiz Province, on Panay, which means that, historically, the lingua franca was Hiligaynon. Now, however, the lingua franca is Tagalog. Romblon has always been more closely tied to the areas of Panay where Hiligaynon was spoken, but it does not seem that Hiligaynon was ever used extensively in the Bantoanon area. Perhaps the inclusion of the Bantoanon area in the Southern Tagalog region has encouraged people to use Tagalog instead of Hiligaynon, although, at the same time, one might observe that the new political alignment has merely confirmed the existing situation as far as language use by the Bantoanons is concerned.

[12] Each municipality is named for the one poblacion found in it, and each municipality usually corresponds to the island where it is found. For example, Sibale is the island where the municipality and the corresponding poblacion of Concepcion are found. Since poblacions and islands have been renamed, the names used in reference can be confusing for a newcomer to the area. Further, the names used locally do not always correspond to those printed on the official government maps. Some examples of this in the Bantoanon area are the poblacion of Banton, formerly named Jones, on Banton Island, and Sibale Island, which was formerly named Maestre de Campo. The names most used currently by local residents are Banton and Sibale.

In this paper, the name used in reference is usually that of either the municipality or the island, since, except for the municipalities on Tablas Island, these names refer to the same geographical and political area. The current names of the municipalities, poblacions, and islands are:

Municipality	Poblacion	Island
Banton	Banton	Banton
Calatrava	Calatrava	Tablas
Concepcion	Concepcion	Sibale
Corcuera	Corcuera	Simara
Odiongan	Odiongan	Tablas

[13] The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

Bn	Banton	Si	Sibale (Maestre de Campo)
Ca	Calatrava	Sm	Simara
Od	Odiongan	SVD	Society of the Divine Word
PIC	Philippine Independent Church	‘101’	101 Philippine word list
		‘372’	Expanded Philippine word list
SDA	Seventh-Day Adventists		

[14] The Philippine Independent Church, or Iglesia Independiente ng Pilipinas, was formerly called the Aglipayan Church, after the priest who was involved with the break from the Roman Catholic Church in 1947. This break was the result of a nationalistic movement within the Roman Catholic Church, and it led to a denomination that perceives itself as Protestant and adhering to the Episcopal, or Anglican, tradition. Many of the doctrines and traditions of this church, though, remain similar to those of the Roman Catholics. This denomination has a rather strong following among Bantoanons, especially in the newer towns of Odiongan and Calatrava.

[15] Barangay = The geographical and political unit under the jurisdiction of a barangay captain and immediately subordinate to the municipio. It centers on some named town, village, or residential neighbourhood.

[16] Municipio = (1) Municipality, a political unit under the jurisdiction of a mayor. It often centers on an urban center, and it includes the small towns and villages within the district that belongs to that urban center.
= (2) The municipal office building

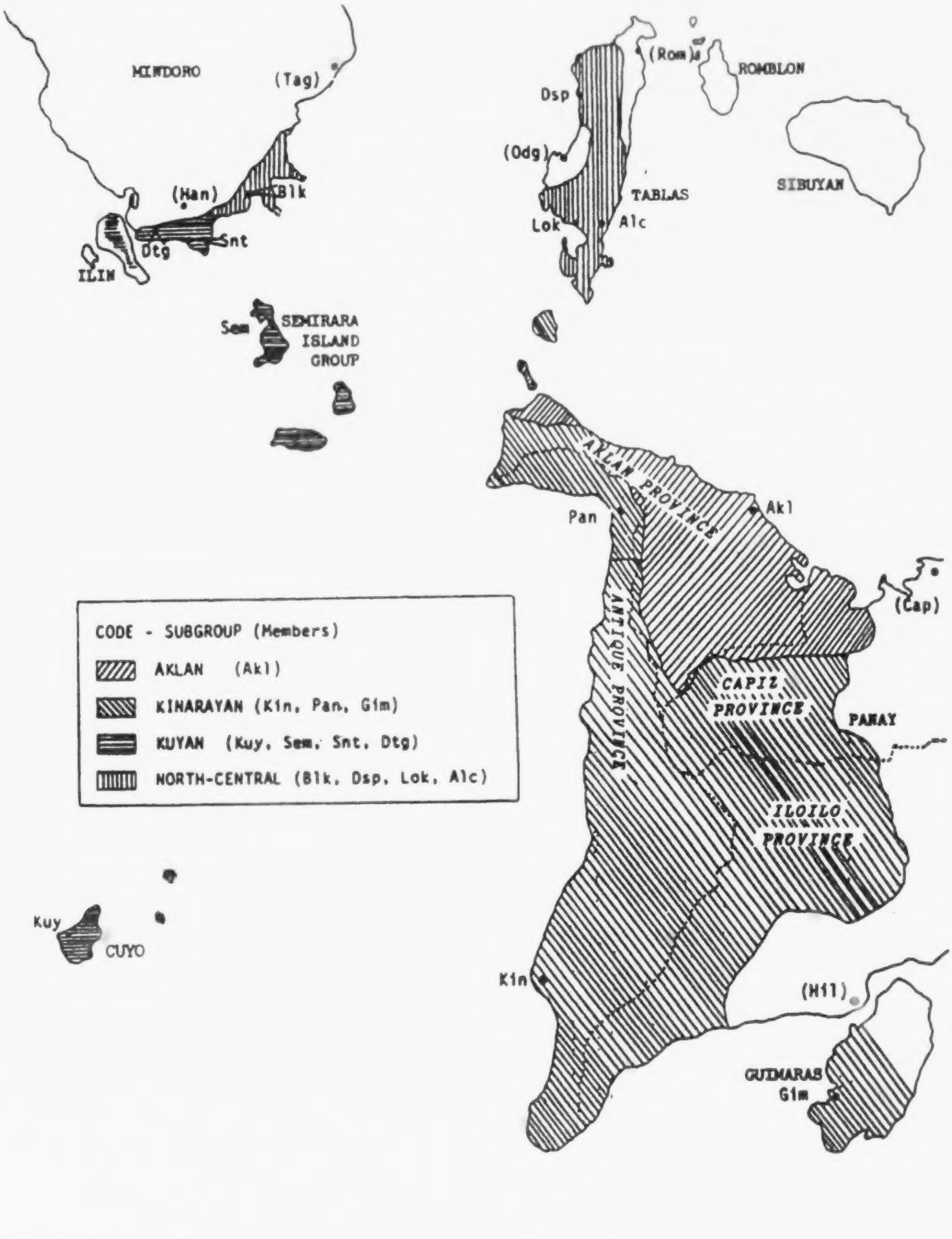
[17] Since the phonology of Bantoanon has not been adequately analysed, no attempt has been made to write vernacular examples phonemically in this paper, Instead, in order that examples might be given, we have contented ourselves with the expedient of impressionistic writing. The glottal is represented by q.

We have observed that, when Bantoanons read our representation of their language, they have no trouble reading any symbol used for glottal. In their own attempts to write the glottal they seem to follow Bisayan orthographic usage. For example, they use a hyphen for a glottal preceding a suffix. Glottals in other environments are not usually written. This was not surprising since, although the glottal is phonemic in many Philippine languages, it is not always written.

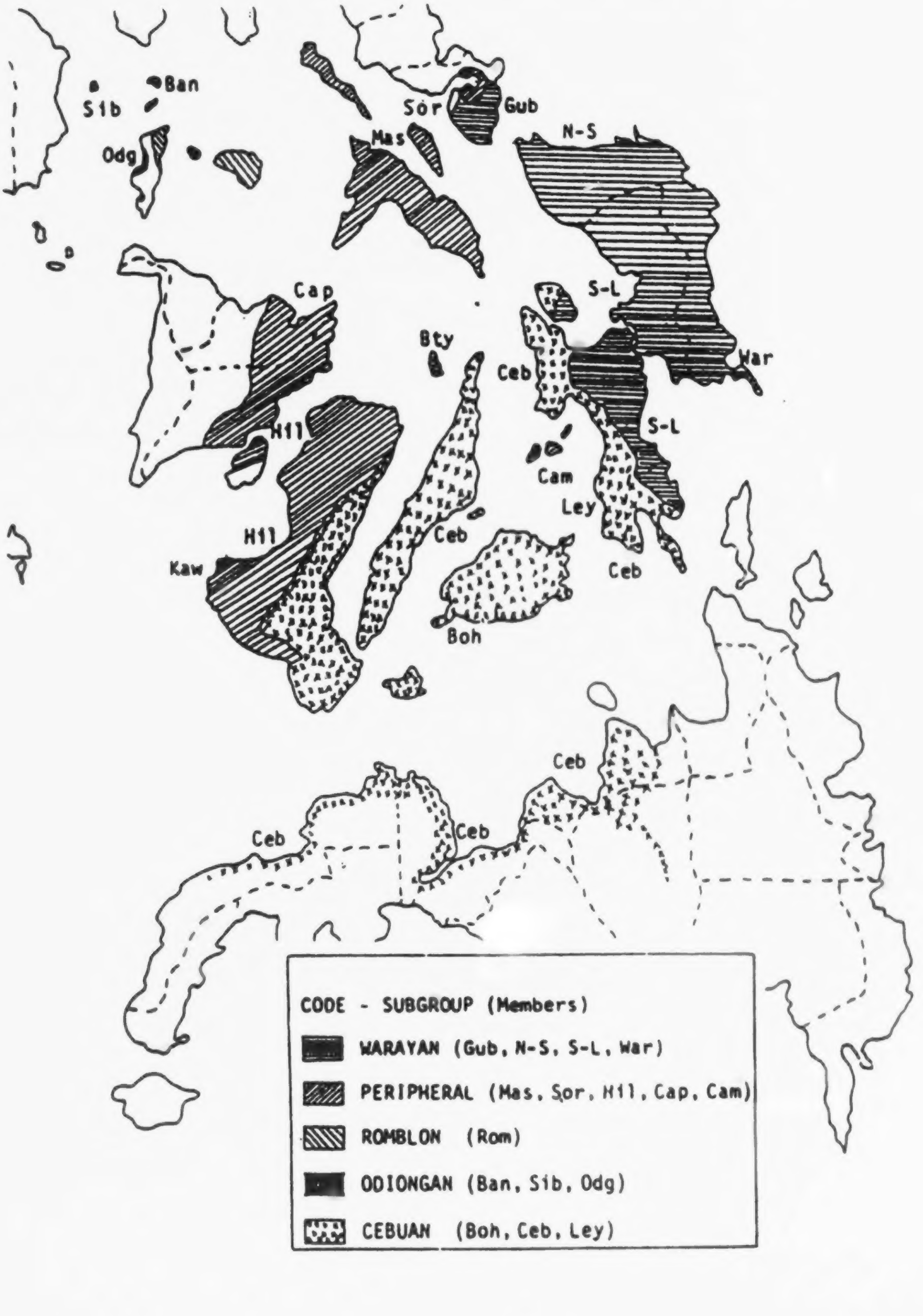
APPENDIX A

MAPS

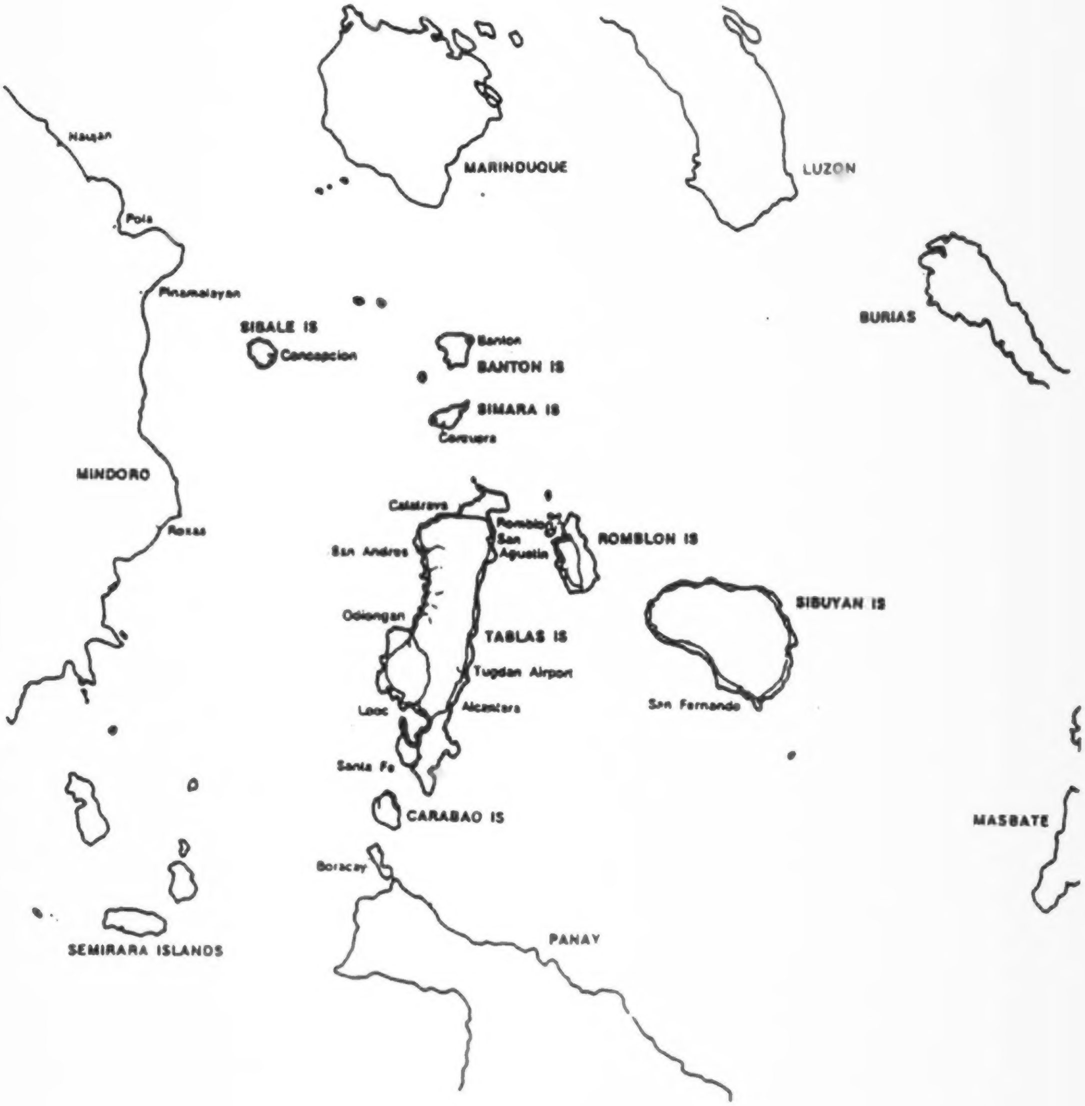
1. Location of western Bisayan dialects (cf. Zorc 1977:16; map 4)


MINDORO
(Tag)
(Han)
Blk
Dtg
Snt
ILIN
Sem
SEMIRARA ISLAND GROUP
(Rom)
ROMBLON
Dsp
(Odg)
TABLAS
Lok
Alc
SIBUYAN
AKLAN PROVINCE
Pan
Akl
(Cap)
ANTIQUE PROVINCE
CAPIZ PROVINCE
PANAY
ILOILO PROVINCE
Kin
(Hil)
GUIMARAS
Gim
Kuy
CUYO
CODE - SUBGROUP (Members)
▨ AKLAN (Akl)
▧ KINARAYAN (Kin, Pan, Gim)
▤ KUYAN (Kuy, Sem, Snt, Dtg)
▥ NORTH-CENTRAL (Blk, Dsp, Lok, Alc)

2. Location of central Bisayan dialects (cf. Zorc 1977:17; map 5)


Ban
Sib
Odg
Sor
Gub
Mas
N-S
Cap
S-L
Bty
Ceb
War
Hil
S-L
Cam
Ley
Hil
Kaw
Ceb
Ceb
Boh
Ceb
Ceb
Ceb
CODE - SUBGROUP (Members)
WARAYAN (Gub, N-S, S-L, War)
PERIPHERAL (Mas, Sor, Hil, Cap, Cam)
ROMBLON (Rom)
ODIONGAN (Ban, Sib, Odg)
CEBUAN (Boh, Ceb, Ley)

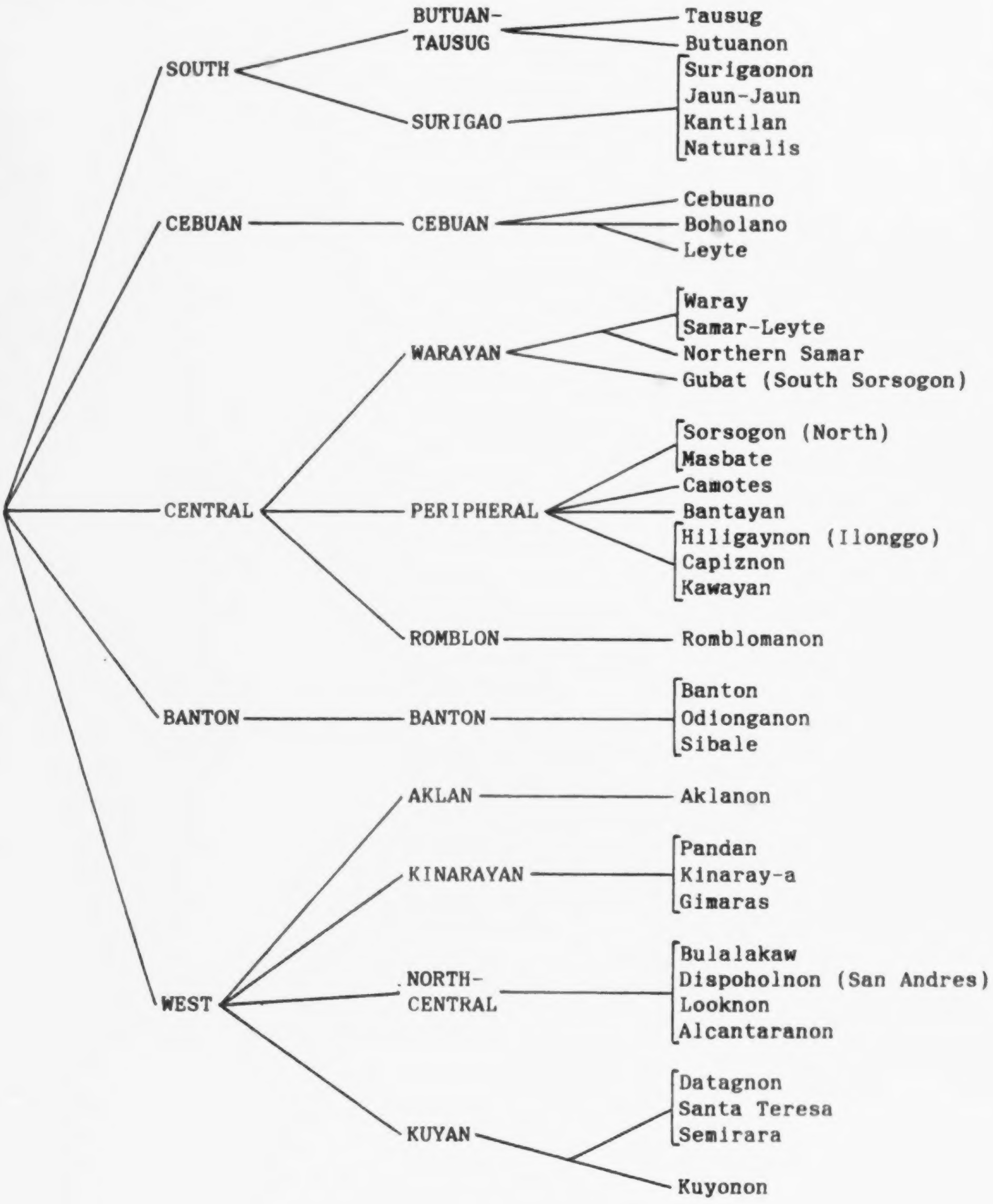
3. Romblon Province and neighbouring islands


MARINDUQUE
LUZON
Naujan
Pola
Pinamalayan
SIBALE IS
Concepcion
Banton
BANTON IS
BURIAS
SIMARA IS
Corcuera
MINDORO
Calatrava
Romblon
San Agustin
ROMBLON IS
Roxas
San Andres
SIBUYAN IS
Odiongan
TABLAS IS
Tugdan Airport
Looc
Alcantara
San Fernando
Santa Fe
CARABAO IS
MASBATE
Boracay
PANAY
SEMIRARA ISLANDS

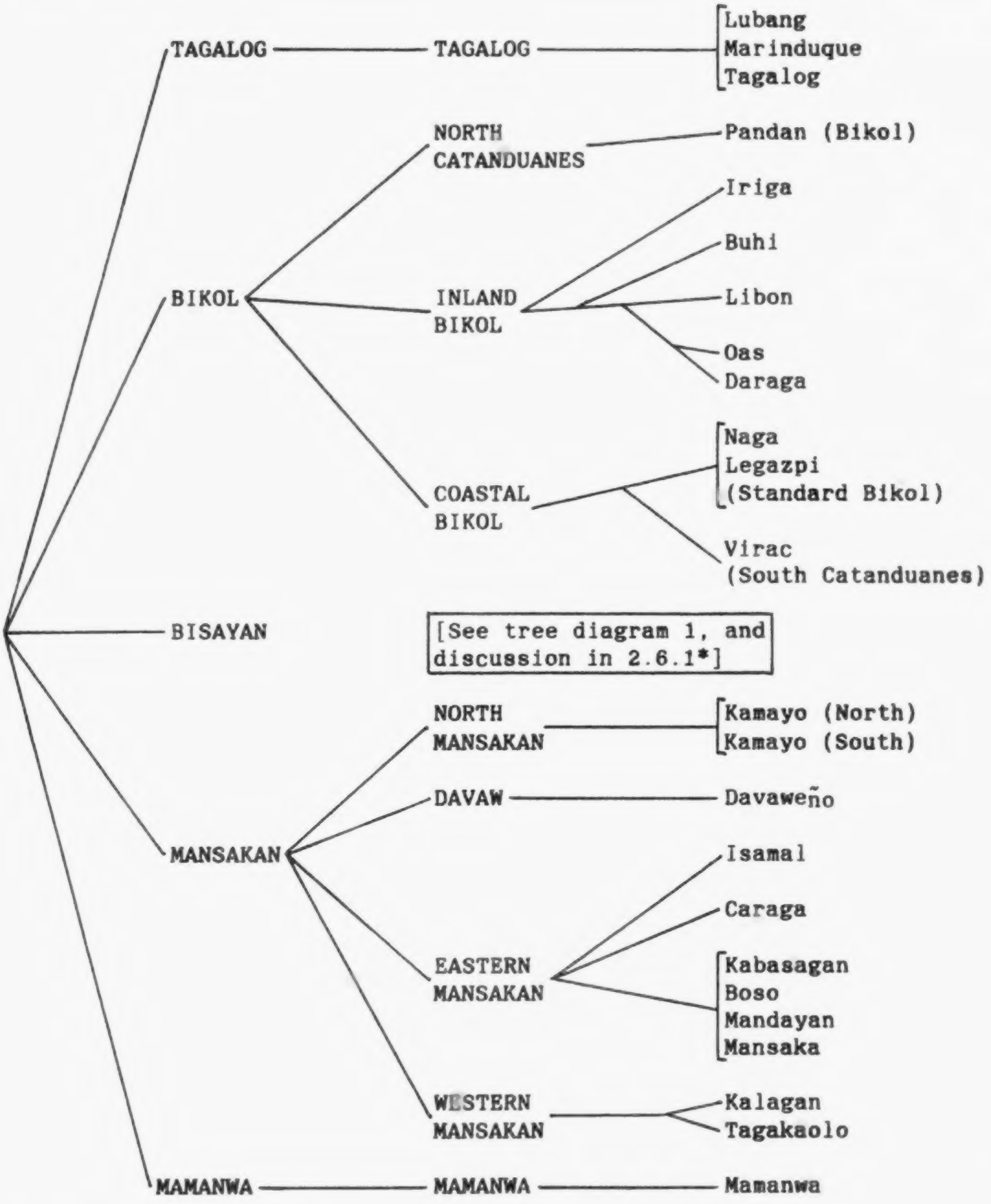
APPENDIX B

TREE DIAGRAMS

1. Genetic relationships of the Bisayan dialects (cf. Zorc 1977:32; tree diagram 1)


SOUTH
BUTUAN-TAUSUG
Tausug
Butuanon
SURIGAO
Surigaonon
Jaun-Jaun
Kantilan
Naturalis
CEBUAN
CEBUAN
Cebuano
Boholano
Leyte
CENTRAL
WARAYAN
Waray
Samar-Leyte
Northern Samar
Gubat (South Sorsogon)
PERIPHERAL
Sorsogon (North)
Masbate
Camotes
Bantayan
Hiligaynon (Ilonggo)
Capiznon
Kawayan
ROMBLON
Romblomanon
BANTON
BANTON
Banton
Odionganon
Sibale
WEST
AKLAN
Aklanon
KINARAYAN
Pandan
Kinaray-a
Gimaras
NORTH-CENTRAL
Bulalakaw
Dispoholnon (San Andres)
Looknon
Alcantaranon
KUYAN
Datagnon
Santa Teresa
Semirara
Kuyonon

2. Genetic relationships of Central Philippine languages (cf. Zorc 1977:33; tree diagram 2)


TAGALOG
TAGALOG
Lubang
Marinduque
Tagalog
NORTH CATANDUANES
Pandan (Bikol)
BIKOL
INLAND BIKOL
Iriga
Buhi
Libon
Oas
Daraga
COASTAL BIKOL
Naga
Legazpi
(Standard Bikol)
Virac
(South Catanduanes)
BISAYAN
[See tree diagram 1, and discussion in 2.6.1*]
NORTH MANSAKAN
Kamayo (North)
Kamayo (South)
MANSAKAN
DAVAW
Davaweño
EASTERN MANSAKAN
Isamal
Caraga
Kabasagan
Boso
Mandayan
Mansaka
WESTERN MANSAKAN
Kalagan
Tagakaolo
MAMANWA
MAMANWA
Mamanwa

Note: * This section is to be found in Zorc 1977:30.

APPENDIX C

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

1. The sociolinguistic survey questionnaire

The following questionnaire is in the original format, with the addition of certain questions and possible answers, which we came to realize we should have included when the questionnaire was first prepared. These additions, which were actually used during the survey, are marked with asterisks (*) to make it easier for the reader to note items in the questionnaire that are commented on in section 6.2.1 and in Appendix C, 2-4.

1. Survey No. 1 []

2. Date______________

3. Surveyor 2 [] R. Gordon 3 [] H. Kilgour 4 [] Other

4. Name________________________

5. Sex 5 [] male 6 [] female

6. a. Town____________________

   b. Area 7 [] Banton 8 [] Calatrava 9 [] Simara

   10 [] Odiongan 11 [] Sibale

7. Age 12 [] 5-12 yrs. 13 [] 13-20 yrs. 14 [] 21-30 yrs.

   15 [] 31-50 yrs. 16 [] 50+ yrs.

8. Where were you born?

   17 [] Banton 18 [] Calatrava 19 [] Simara

   20 [] Odiongan 21 [] Sibale 22 [] Other_________

9. a. Name [family*] of spouse__________________________

   b. Your maiden [family*] name________________________

   c. Begins with 23 [] F 24 [] M 25 [] Other
   (Respondent's family name, or maiden name if female)*

d. Where born?

26 [] Banton 27 [] Calatrava 28 [] Simara

29 [] Odiongan 30 [] Sibale 31 [] Other________

10. a. What languages do you speak? (Add proficiency comments* e.g. 1=good, 2=fair, 3=weak which can be recorded using additional numbers beyond the 214 given in the present format. These numbers are used for computer calculations.)

Bantoanon 1 2 3 32 []	Romblomanon 1 2 3 33 []	Looknon 1 2 3 34 []	Hiligaynon 1 2 3 35 []	Tagalog 1 2 3 36 []
Cebuano 1 2 3 37 []	Ilocano 1 2 3 38 []	English 1 2 3 39 []	Other________ 1 2 3 40 []	

b. What language did you first learn as a child?

Bantoanon 41 []	Romblomanon 42 []	Looknon 43 []	Hiligaynon 44 []	Tagalog 45 []
Cebuano 46 []	Ilocano 47 []	English 48 []	Other________ 49 []	

c. What is your second language?

Bantoanon 50 []	Romblomanon 51 []	Looknon 52 []	Hiligaynon 53 []	Tagalog 54 []
Cebuano 55 []	Ilocano 56 []	English 57 []	Other________ 58 []	

d. At what age did you learn your second language?

59 [] 3-5 yrs. 60 [] 6-8 yrs. 61 [] 9-11 yrs.

62 [] 12-17 yrs. 63 [] 18+ yrs.

e. Other languages [learnt] and [at what] ages [were they] learnt?

3-5 6-8 9-11 12-17 18-21 22-30 31-40 41+

Bantoanon____
Romblomanon____
Looknon____
Hiligaynon____
Tagalog____
Cebuano____
Ilocano____
English____
Other____

f. Which languages are you able to read and write?

Tagalog	Hiligaynon	Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other___________
64 []	65 []	66 []	67 []	68 []	69 []

g. Do you think it would be a good thing to read and write Bantoanon?

70 [] yes 71 [] no

h. What advantages do you see in reading and writing Bantoanon?

[] I'm proud of my language.
[] I understand it best.
[] I could write letters to my family/friends.
[] It would be important like Tagalog/Hiligaynon.
[] We could have books and newspapers.
[] Other____

11. What language do you use when you speak to:

	spouse	parents	children	school teacher	market vendor	shop-keeper	mayor	friends/ peers
Bantoanon								
Romblomanon								
Looknon								
Hiligaynon								
Tagalog								
Cebuano								
Ilocano								
English								
Other								

12. a. Where was your mother born?

Banton	Calatrava	Simara	Odiongan	Sibale	
78 []	79 []	81 []	82 []	83 []	
Mindoro	Panay	Luzon	Mindanao	Romblon	Other_________
84 []	85 []	86 []	87 []	88 []	89 []

b. What was her first language?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Tagalog
89 []	90 []	91 []	92 []	93 []
Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other_______________	
94 []	95 []	96 []	97 []	

c. **Where was your father born?**

Banton	Calatrava	Simara	Odiongan	Sibale	
98 []	99 []	100 []	101 []	102 []	
Mindoro	Panay	Luzon	Mindanao	Romblon	Other__________
103 []	104 []	105 []	106 []	107 []	108 []

d. **What was his first language?**

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Taglog
109 []	110 []	111 []	112 []	113 []
Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other______________	
114 []	115 []	116 []	117 []	

13. a. **Where are your children living?**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Banton										
Calatrava										
Odiongan										
Simara										
Sibale										
Romblon										
Mindoro										
Luzon										
Mindanao										
Overseas										

b. **What are your children's occupations?**

118 [] student
119 [] teacher
120 [] clergy
121 [] driver
122 [] farmer
123 [] fisherman
124 [] government official
125 [] doctor/nurse
126 [] lawyer
127 [] housewife
128 [] shopkeeper
129 [] market vendor
130 [] construction
131 [] carpenter
132 [] other__________

14. **What language do you use at work?**

	To superiors	To peers	To those under you
Bantoanon			
Romblomanon			
Looknon			
Hiligaynon			
Tagalog			
Cebuano			
Ilocano			
English			
Other			

15. a. What language is used in church?

	Liturgy	**Sermons**	**Hymns**	**Prayers**	**Announcements**	**Sharing**
Bantoanon						
Romblomanon						
Looknon						
Hiligaynon						
Tagalog						
Cebuano						
Ilocano						
English						
Other						

b. What language would you like to have used in church?

Bantoanon 133 []	Romblomanon 134 []	Looknon 135 []	Hiligaynon 136 []	Tagalog 137 []
Cebuano 138 []	Ilocano 139 []	English 140 []	Other________________ 141 []	

c. What is your religion?

142 [] Roman Catholic 143 [] PIC 144 [] SDA
145 [] Foursquare 146 [] Baptist 147 [] Iglesia ni Cristo
148 [] Jehovah's Witnesses 149 [] Other________________________

16. What language is used in school?

	Classroom	Recess
Bantoanon		
Romblomanon		
Looknon		
Hiligaynon		
Tagalog		
Cebuano		
Ilocano		
English		
Other		

17. **What** language do you...?

	Pray in	Think in	Dream in
Bantoanon			
Romblomanon			
Looknon			
Hiligaynon			
Tagalog			
Cebuano			
Ilocano			
English			
Other			

18. **What is your occupation?**

150 [] student
151 [] teacher
152 [] clergy
153 [] driver
154 [] farmer
155 [] fisherman
156 [] government official
157 [] doctor/nurse
158 [] lawyer
159 [] housewife
160 [] shopkeeper
161 [] market vendor
162 [] construction
163 [] carpenter
164 [] other____________

19. **What** language is the easiest to express your deepest feelings (e.g. explaining something about your beliefs, religion, or deep experiences of life)?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Tagalog
165 []	166 []	167 []	168 []	169 []

Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other_________________
170 []	171 []	172 []	173 []

20. Which language do you think is easiest to learn?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Tagalog
174 []	175 []	176 []	177 []	178 []

Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other_________________
179 []	180 []	181 []	182 []

21. **What** language do you like speaking best?

Bantoanon	Romblomanon	Looknon	Hiligaynon	Tagalog
183 []	184 []	185 []	186 []	187 []

Cebuano	Ilocano	English	Other_________________
188 []	189 []	190 []	191 []

22. a. Are there languages that you want to see your children learn to speak? Number them in order of preference.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bantoanon										
Romblomanon										
Looknon										
Hiligaynon										
Tagalog										
Cebuano										
Ilocano										
English										
Other										

b. Is it more important for boys to learn these languages, than it is for girls?

192 [] yes 193 [] no 194 [] same

23. a. Has the constitution been translated into your language?

195 [] yes 196 [] no

b. Do you think it would be good?

197 [] yes 198 [] no

24. What other places where Bantoanon is not spoken, have you lived for more than six months?

	6 mths.	1 yr.	1-3 yrs.	4-6 yrs.	7-10 yrs.	10+ yrs.
Romblon						
Mindoro						
Luzon						
Panay						
Mindanao						
Other Philippine						
Overseas						

25. Where else do they speak like you do?

199 [] Banton 200 [] Calatrava 201 [] Simara

202 [] Odiongan 203 [] Sibale * [] Other__________

26. a. Where do they speak the best Bantoanon?

204 [] Banton 205 [] Calatrava 206 [] Simara

207 [] Odiongan 208 [] Sibale

b. Why do you think it is better speech there?

209 [ ] isolated from other areas
210 [ ] deeper Bantoanon
211 [ ] purer Bantoanon
212 [ ] original inhabitants [came from there*]
213 [ ] main town
214 [ ] other____
____

27* a. What grade did you reach in school?______________________

[ ] unfinished elementary [ ] graduate of elementary
[ ] unfinished high school [ ] graduate of high school

or what level did you reach in college?

[ ] unfinished college [ ] graduate of college

with a degree in________________________

2. Questionnaire adjustments

Below is a sample of the type of matrix the computer used in processing the responses to the survey questionnaire. At first, the matrix boxes were not numbered, but after the questionnaire had been administered, we numbered the boxes that referred to information that was considered relevant. All other boxes were left unnumbered, and these unnumbered responses were ignored in the computations. Sample matrices--before and after numbering--are shown below.

(a) Before numbering (b) After numbering

Sample Question:

Language x	X			[ ] Language x	1X	2	3
Language y		X		Language y		X	
Language z	X	X	X	[ ] Language z	4X	5X	6X

Note: (b) is the matrix as it was numbered for the computer. Only the answers given for languages x and z, in boxes numbered 1-6, would be used in the calculations. No account was taken of the unnumbered boxes. The responses for language y were thus ignored in the computer processing of results.

3. Samples of computerized results

The following are samples of data produced with the aid of a computer:

(a) The computer would provide a listing of the numbered boxes marked with X for each questionnaire, e.g.

3 5 10 15 20 23 31 32 33 34 36 39 41 52 63 64 69 70 73 81 89 101
109 118 140 142 156 165 174 183 194 196 197 199 200 201 202 203
207 214 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 239 243 252 253 254 255
256 257 264 265 268 272 273 274 275 276 277 279 279 280 281 286
287 290 293 296 302 306 309 310

(b) The computer would also give evidence as to the degree of correlation that exists between the responses made to any two questions in the questionnaire, e.g. the responses made to questions 10c and 22a. With reference to those who said Bantoanon was their second language (box 50 for question 10c), the computer printed out the following:

18 questionnaire(s) true, 8% of completed questionnaires

The eighteen who answered 'true' to question 10c (box 50) also chose Bantoanon as the second language they wished their children to learn.

(c) Computer matrix: A sample of true/true. The matrix shown here is the one made by the computer for the survey we did in one particular locality, where a total of 100 questionnaires were administered.

		A	B	C	
	1	2	3	4	5
1	8	4	3	0	6
2	4	45	0	0	22
3	3	0	51	0	25
4	0	0	0	4	3
5	6	22	25	3	50

The numbers enclosed in the box and shown in the A, B, and C columns are the numbers of questionnaires administered by the three surveyors, A, B, and C. Thus, it is seen that surveyor A did 45 questionnaires, B did 51, and C did 4.

(d) Basic profile sample using the 'Tablasan' example. For the basic profile of a 'Tablasan', the respondent's present residence and birthplace must be one of the Bantoanon municipalities on Tablas Island, namely, Odiongan or Calatrava. He must also be a native speaker of Bantoanon. After the computer had processed the input data, it would make a printout like the following:

Maximum questionnaires available: 250
Total questionnaires completed: 230
Questions per questionnaire: 319

(8 10) (18 20) 41 (Residence + birthplace + native speaker)

13 questionnaires true, 6% of completed questionnaires
Questionnaires matched (that is, questionnaires which meet the criteria established for the 'Tablasan' profile): 5 6 10 23 44 45 51 60 106 108 120 125 148.

(e) The profile sample for a 'Tablasan' could also be correlated with factors, derived from other responses, that are in addition to the criteria of the basic profile. Below on the left, there is in the first line a printout of the numbers of the boxes that define the basic 'Tablasan' profile. The next two lines are examples of two different correlations. The first example shows the numbers of the boxes that define 'Tablasans' who are 13 to 30 years of age, and the second example shows the numbers of the boxes that define the 'Tablasan' profile juxtaposed with the numbers of the boxes that define the 'influential' profile, thus showing who are influential 'Tablasans'.

(8 10) (18 20) 41 Basic profile

(8 10) (18 20) 41 (13 14) Basic profile + the additional age factor of 13 to 30 years

```
(8 10) (18 20) 41   (221 151 156 157 158 160) (14 15)   Two profiles
--------1-------- + ----------------2----------------
    Tablasan      +             Influential
```

The answers chosen as 'true' for certain questions became the parameters for a given profile. This means, for example, that the 'Tablasan' profile requires true answers in boxes 8 or 10, which state the residence of the respondent as being in Calatrava or Odiongan; in boxes 18 or 20, which state the respondent's birthplace as being also Calatrava or Odiongan; and in box 41, which indicates that the respondent is a native speaker of Bantoanon. These are the answers to questions 6b, 8, and 10b, respectively, on the survey questionnaire.

As shown in the samples, this basic profile can be combined with other factors by the addition of specified answers, for example, those in boxes 13 or 14, which represent the age categories of 13-20 years and 21-30 years. In addition, any two basic profiles, for example, 'Tablasan' and 'influential', can also be combined to give even more details.

4. Evaluation of survey design

(a) Relative to the time needed to administer the questionnaire

This sociolinguistic survey questionnaire took fifteen to twenty minutes to administer. This was apparently long enough in the view of many respondents. Also, it must have been adequate, for it allowed some time for those who liked to converse about the questions! Thus, it would seem that the time allowed for an interview need not be extended.

(b) Relative to the questions used

For all questions, the surveyors should state the options, or possible answers, in order to prevent people's guessing and giving some perceived 'right' answers. Below we make some comments and suggestions regarding various questions in the questionnaire we used.

Question 6a. Instead of 'Town_______', there should be numbered boxes to indicate the options of 'town (i.e. poblacion)' or 'barrio'.

Question 6b. With regard to Sibale, this island was formerly called Maestre de Campo, and this is the name still shown on many maps. Locally, the name Maestre de Campo did not seem to be known very well. This illustrates the need surveyors have of knowing the local terms of reference as compared with the map references to various areas.

Question 7. Since respondents are not old enough to give responsible answers until they are at least twelve or thirteen years of age, the 5-12 yrs. age category should be deleted.

Question 9a-c. The adjustment needed here was that of obtaining a male respondent's family name, a female respondent's maiden family name, and the initial letter of the family name. This adjustment was made because of the practice the Spanish followed of giving to residents of a given locality family names beginning with a particular letter. Hence, the names of original families from Banton usually begin with 'F', or 'P' if they have changed the 'F' to that phonetically similar letter. Likewise, Romblomanons usually have family names beginning with 'M'.

Question 10a. The question, 'What languages do you speak?' is too general in that it says nothing about the ability a respondent has in the various languages named. Since it is the surveyor who notes what a respondent feels his ability in a given language to be, it seems that it would be expedient to include with the response for each language in the questionnaire a sequence of numbers, say, 1, 2, and 3, by which the respondent's ability, as good, fair, or poor, can be indicated during an interview.

The results of this particular part of the survey would still depend on the candidness of respondents in stating their facility or lack of it in a language, although it is presumed that respondents would tend to overstate their ability in a foreign language, since social prestige in the Philippines is closely related to this. Anything more definite as regards comprehension would have to be tested by some other method, for example, that discussed in Casad 1974.

Question 10c. 'What is your second language?' is ambiguous, since it can mean either the second language one learnt to speak or the language he or she likes to speak second best. A clearer, more unambiguous wording would be something like this, 'What language do you like to speak second to your mother tongue?'

Question 10e. The information gained through this question was not needed since it contributed nothing toward the aims of this survey.

Question 10f. In this case, we should have named all the possible languages, including the 'unwritten' ones like Bantoanon and Romblomanon, because the people are literate in these languages and attempt to write them using the more prestigious orthography used in Hiligaynon. Also, perhaps reading and writing should be distinguished for each language, since some respondents expressed a different ability in each skill.

Question 10g. In this case, only one choice, YES, is necessary since a negative answer is indicated by no mark in the box. To have both YES and NO is redundant.

Question 10h. It seemed to be difficult for many people to state advantages, so it was decided to state some possible options and ask respondents for one, or two at the most. This was somewhat limiting, but it seemed to be the best way to handle the difficulty. The difficulty respondents experienced with this question is probably due to the kind of independent, abstract reasoning required, which is not taught by traditional education methods in this country and does not seem to be compatible with group interdependence and characteristic shyness.

Question 11. This matrix was adjusted (cf. Appendix C, 2) so that only the Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English rows were used, since only these three languages were deemed to be relevant to the aims of this survey.

We suggest for the future that the separate categories 'market vendor' and 'shopkeeper' be combined into one, as, for example, 'vendor/shopkeeper'.

With regard to the 'school teacher' category, this should be defined so that the reference is not to when the respondent went to school himself (this is covered by question 16) but rather to the interaction the respondent has with his children's teachers in the community where they now live.

Question 12. To the question, 'Where was your mother/father born?' occasionally people did not know the answer. It is suggested, therefore, that the Filipino question, Taga saan siya? 'Where was he/she from?' is an acceptable alternate. This option would prevent unnecessary difficulty.

Question 13a. The matrix for this question was adjusted so that all the specific localities were combined into the more general relevant categories: Bantoanon areas, for Banton, Calatrava, Odiongan, Simara, and Sibale; Tagalog areas, for Mindoro and Luzon; Romblon Province, for non-Bantoanon areas in Romblon Province; other Philippine areas, for Panay and Mindanao; and overseas.

Question 13b. For this question we suggest that occupational categories be grouped as they are perceived to show social strata within Philippine society. We also suggest adding the following additional categories:

Pupils (in order to distinguish such respondents from college students--a distinction lost in the single category of 'students')
Handcrafts
Office/clerical
Factory/janitor/security guard
Engineer
Government employee/police

Also, we suggest that the following new categories be made by expanding certain existing ones as indicated:

Fisherman/seaman
Lawyer/professional
Housewife/domestic
Shopkeeper/negosyante (or businessman)

The 'Other' category included numerous occupations that should be distinguished in order to show different socioeconomic strata.

Question 14. This matrix also was adjusted so that only the Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English rows were used. Also, we came to the conclusion that this question should follow question 18, 'What is your occupation?' It also seems that question 18 should be moved to a position following question 9, which asks for general name and birthplace information.

Question 15a. This matrix was adjusted so that only the Bantoanon, Hiligaynon, Tagalog, and English rows were used. Hiligaynon was included because it is used as a 'church language' in Romblon and nearby provinces. The Bibles used in the area are in the languages Tagalog, English, or Hiligaynon.

Question 15b. To the question, 'What language would you like to have used in church?' multiple responses were sometimes given, in which more than one language was named as the one that is, or should be, used. Such multiple answers were accepted.

Question 15c. The question, 'What is your religion?' was usually asked before question 15a, 'What language is used in church?' which seems to be a logical sequence and one that should be incorporated into the format of the questionnaire in the future.

Questions 16 and 17. The matrices for these two questions were adjusted so that only the Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English rows were used.

Question 18. The possible responses to this question should be adjusted as was suggested for question 13b. It is also suggested that this question follow questions 9a-d and be followed by question 14, 'What language do you use at work?'

Question 20. This question, 'Which language do you think is easiest to learn?' was found to be unusable because of its ambiguity. It could be understood as referring to learning in a classroom or learning in general, by any method. The first understanding is not intended or desired; therefore, the question should be restated or deleted.

Question 22a. There was some degree of ambiguity with regard to this question, because often people just assumed Bantoanon to be the first choice, without mentioning it. Respondents should be specifically questioned about their vernacular, which in this case is Bantoanon.

The matrix was adjusted so that only three choices were given, and only three languages, namely, Bantoanon, Tagalog, and English, were named as options. Occasionally, though, other languages, such as Romblomanon and Looknon, were named instead of one of these.

A further observation is that careful translation is necessary in order to prevent the understanding that the choice of language depends on what the parents themselves can teach their children instead of the language the parents would want to see their children learn, that is, be caused to learn, from someone, if given the opportunity.

Question 22b. With regard to this question, there was redundancy. Perhaps a common value in Filipino society is revealed by this, but almost 100% of the respondents chose 'same'. It is suggested that the question be deleted or the choices be reduced to 'yes' and 'same'.

Question 23a. To have both 'yes' and 'no' responses for this question was redundant, as was the whole question after the response 'yes' had been received. Actually, the questions 23a-b could be combined and stated as follows: 'Do you think it would be good to have the Philippine Constitution translated into/written in Bantoanon?'

Question 24. The matrix for this question also was adjusted by combining language areas as follows:

Tagalog areas, for Mindoro and Luzon
Hiligaynon areas, for Panay
Romblomanon areas, for Romblon
Other Philippine areas, for Mindanao and anywhere else in the Philippines
Overseas

The length of time spent in another area was not used in this survey, although the information may be of some general interest.

Question 25. For this question, the additional 'Other' category should be provided for those people who name localities on Mindoro where Bantoanon speakers form a significant community. And the names of such places should be noted by surveyors. Answers to this question in our survey revealed that people have different conceptions. For example, some have no firsthand knowledge of subdialect areas, such as the three islands or Tablas.

Question 26b. The options for response to this question were adjusted in accordance with the answers the respondents gave. Few, if any, gave the response, 'Isolated from other areas'; therefore, that response was deleted and replaced by this one: malumanay 'slow and gentle'--a recurring 'other' response that refers to the dialect's intonation and conveys the general idea of 'good'.

Another commonly recurring 'other' response, which was also stated, was taga rile/amo sarili 'It is from here/our own'--a response that seems to show pride of language. Care was needed in translating the phrase 'original inhabitants', and it was found that a longer equivalent, like 'The first speakers of the Bantoanon language came from there', was necessary.

It did not seem that respondents had any difficulty in responding to question 26b, which was the reason for their answer to question 26a. Perhaps this was because language attitudes, or prejudices, are part of childhood training, not a matter of personal reasoning.

Question 27. The question, 'What grade did you reach in school, or what level did you reach in college?' was added to the questionnaire after it was originally prepared.

(c) Relative to profiles

The use of profiles was strategic in interpreting the results of this survey. The profiles used in this report were arrived at by the selection of various parameters abstracted from the answers received to certain questions. Three kinds of parameters were used to define the various profiles: (1) socioeconomic, which define the 'influential' and 'trend-setter' profiles; (2) educational and linguistic, which define the 'weak Tagalog' profile; and (3) geographical, which define the 'islander' and 'Tablasan' profiles. To arrive at these profiles in this way was moderately successful, which is gratifying since such a procedure was necessary in view of this survey's having been a random one, whose aim was to canvas all geographical areas and, thus, all socioeconomic strata of the population. As illustrated by the fact that we usually stayed with town officials, and for that reason we often did not interview them, it would have been better to have done a more selective survey; that is, one where members of various strata of society, for example, college students and influential and noninfluential people, are chosen ahead of time.

Such a survey could be achieved by going to those of certain strata that had been defined by specific socioeconomic factors. Such factors would need to be preselected and then incorporated into the questionnaire so that a representative sample could be obtained, as was done for the age and sex groups in the present survey. One example of what we mean is that a larger number of people whom we call 'influentials' in a society should be surveyed. In order to do that it would be necessary to get an idea of which groups, such as religious, ethnic, or economic, in a community might be influencing sociolinguistic trends, and then to obtain a representative sample of such groups so as to establish whether the trend is toward change or toward reinforcement of traditional values.

(d) Relative to geographical coverage

Our aim in this survey was to canvas all major geographical areas of a poblacion, and this was achieved in a general sense. But due to the small number of persons surveyed, in some cases we reached our goal in a locality before an area was completely canvassed, which meant that the remaining homes were not covered.

A case in point is Banton, where, after seeing a large Philippine Evangelical Mission church, we assumed that a considerable number of adherents of this church would be surveyed. Yet few were. We concluded that perhaps a majority of the members of this church lived in some outlying, newly developed area of the town--an area that was not reached in the survey since we had already reached our goal. Also, this newer area was not included on the map we used when we planned the survey initially upon our arrival in Banton.

(e) Relative to religious groups

Another interest we had in making this survey was that of learning the attitudes members of different religious affiliations in an area have toward the use of Bantoanon. A random survey, however, is not always the best kind to achieve such results. This survey was generally successful in this respect; however, when there are minority groups that are of such small percentages, it seems that a specific effort should be made (1) to survey a useful number of people from each religious affiliation and (2) to learn the extent to which they use printed religious literature. This latter goal could be achieved by using a question such as, 'In what language do you read/understand/like to read the Bible?' At the same time, the possibility exists that one respondent might understand this question to refer to personal use of the Bible, while another might understand it to refer to use in church worship services.

APPENDIX D

THE LEXICOSTATISTICAL STUDY

1. 101 Philippine word list

The 101 Philippine word list was used in its classified format--a format in which the arrangement is individual noun items first and grammatical elements, such as marking particles, last. The actual format of the '101' list is not shown here, but the contents are given.

The classifications of the items in the 101 Philippine word list are as follows:

Body parts (1-20)
Human/kinship terms (21-29)
Plant terms (30-35)
Fire complex (36-40)
Animal terms (41-51)
Meteorological terms (52-57)
Geophysical features (58-67)
Numerals (68-72)
Colour terms (73-77)
Descriptives (78-97)
Interrogatives (98-101)

The grammatical elements included in the '101' list are given below, accompanied by one Bantoanon example in those instances where any vernacular form was elicited. An asterisk (*), with the absence of examples, shows where we, the surveyors, had difficulty interpreting what the items on the word list referred to. Language examples are written impressionistically since a phonemic[17] analysis has not yet been completed.

Pronouns: focused enclitic forms, focused full forms
'I' ako

Pronouns: unfocused subject/possessive
'my dog' akoq iroq/iroq nakoq

Pronouns: unfocused nonsubject/emphatic possessive
'to me' sa akoq

Marking particles*: personal, nonpersonal
Focused forms: si/sina, kag
Unfocused subject: ni/na, it
Unfocused nonsubject: kang/kana, sa
Focused full form

Demonstratives*:	this	that (nearby)	that (far away)
Focused forms:	kali	kinaq	kato
Unfocused subject			
Unfocused nonsubject			
Focused full form			

Existentials:
'There is/are' inggwa
'There is/are none' wayaq

Negatives:

Past tense	wuyaq sida gipagtu	'he did not go'
Future tense	indiq sida magpagtu	'he will not go'
Absolute	bukoq magado	'it is not good'
Imperative	ayaq gibuhata	'don't do it'

Below is an alphabetical list of all the items on the '101' list. The numbers in parentheses refer to the corresponding item's sequential number on the list. An asterisk (*) before an item indicates that a problem was encountered with that item when the list was used (cf.6.2.2.2-3 and Appendix D, 2-4).

101 Philippine word list

ashes (40)
back (9)
bad (93)
*bark (of tree) (32)
belly (10)
big (97)
bird (46)
black (73)
blood (17)
bone (16)
burn (a field) (38)
child (young) (23)
cloud (58)
*cold (weather) (54)
day (52)
dog (41)
dry (substance) (89)
dull (as a knife) (85)
ear (3)
*earth (soil) (65)
egg (49)
eye (4)
far (79)
father (26)
*feather (large) (47)
fire (37)
fish (42)
five (72)
flower (30)
to fly (51)
four (71)
fruit (35)
good (92)
*green (77)
hair (2)
*hand (and arm) (11)
head (1)
heart (18)
*husband (24)
intestines (19)
*lake (61)
leaf (33)
left (hand) (12)
*leg (and foot) (14)
liver (20)
long (81)
louse (43)
man (male) (21)
mother (27)
mountain (59)
mouth (6)
name (29)
narrow (87)
near (78)
neck (8)
new (90)
night (53)
nose (5)
*old (91)
one (68)
person (28)
pull (95)
push (94)
*to rain (26)
red (75)
right (hand) (13)
*river (62)
root (34)
sand (64)
sea (63)
sharp (as a knife) (84)
*short (80)
skin (of person) (15)
*sky (66)
small (96)
smoke (39)
snake (44)
star (67)
*tail (of rooster) (48)
thick (82)
*thin (83)
three (70)
tongue (7)
tree (31)
two (69)
water (60)
wet (88)
what? (101)
when? (100)
where? (99)
who? (98)
white (74)
wide (86)
*wife (25)
wing (50)
woman (22)
*stick (of wood) (36)
*woods (58)
*worm (45)
yellow (76)

2. Word list adjustments

When the 101 Philippine word list was used, problems were encountered with certain items (cf. forms with an asterisk in Appendix D, 1). When respondents gave two or more forms for any one item, all the forms were noted. This was done because we were in only the early stages of language learning, and we knew that further analysis could be made later on the basis of this additional data.

The actual problem we encountered was that of eliciting items that were later found to be incorrect. Of course, this could have been prevented, to some degree at least, if we had known the language better. An example of the kind of problem we encountered is item 36 'stick'. For this item, forms meaning 'wood' and 'bamboo' were given, as well as other forms we still did not know.

The major adjustments made with regard to the list were in the grammatical section, where we found these four distinctions, namely, 'focused forms', 'unfocused subject', 'unfocused nonsubject', and 'focused full form', which were not clear to us. The expedient we used in this case was to elicit the Bantoanon forms that are equivalent to the ang, ng, and sa Tagalog sets in both personal and nonpersonal pronouns and in singular and plural personal marking particles, such as si (sg) and sina (pl). In the case of the demonstratives, only three examples, which we assumed were focused forms, were obtained. These forms were kali 'this', kinaq 'that (nearby)', and kato 'that (far away)'. The other forms were ignored.

Later the following forms were added:

Locatives

'Here'	'There (nearby)'	'There (far away)'
rile	rahaq	roto
dili		
hali	hinaq	hagto

It seems to have been useful to add these locative forms. But although it seems clear that there are more than one set of these forms, without further study in this area the patterns of these sets can appear as nothing less than complex.

3. Analysis of cognates

For each pair of dialects, a chart was made to show which items in the two dialects were cognate, which were questionable, and which were noncognate. Below, the format used for these charts is shown. As described above (cf. 6.2.2.2-3), the items on the '101' list were used in determining cognates. Then from the number of cognates those items found to be ambiguous and problematical were excluded in obtaining the adjusted possible total. (The ambiguous and problematical items are marked by asterisks in section 1 above. See section 4 below for recommended changes.) The problematical items are: 11, 14, 36, 45, 58, 61, and 62.

1X	21X	41X	65X	89X
X	X	X	X	90X
X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X
5X	25X	45[]	X	X
X	X	0	70X	X
.	.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.	.

Cognates and recognizable variants = X
Questionable or blank = [] (not used in the analysis)
Items not cognate = 0

Cognates and recognizable variants = 91
Questionable and blank items = 7
Adjusted possible total = 94

Cognate % = 96.8%

The adjusted possible total was arrived at by adding the number of clear cognates and the number of clear noncognates, disregarding the unclear and blank items. The cognate percentage then was obtained by dividing the number of recognized cognates by the adjusted possible total.

Some forms we elicited were not true variants, or alternates, because either we surveyors misinterpreted what was wanted or the respondents were uncertain. Further, some variant forms, we are sure, were included because of our inexperience in the language, which, in turn, caused us to be unable to recognize that an elicited form was incorrect. We feel that, with even a short additional time in language learning, some of those inaccuracies would have been recognized.

Many of the variants can be recognized as equivalents for other items within the same semantic domain--equivalents respondents could easily have substituted for the correct one. This is illustrated by the way 'body parts' were so often misinterpreted. How easy it is to misinterpret something as ambiguous as 'belly', with or without gestures!

It was observed also that Tagalog words were sometimes given as equivalents. In some cases these were no doubt loanwords that have been assimilated into the dialect in the area, of which an example in Sibale is Tagalog kaliwag 'left (hand)'. In other cases, these Tagalog equivalents were probably the result of the bilingualism of the respondents.

All equivalents in the lists below are included, as they were written, to show the kind of equivalents obtained in such a survey--including the ones that were obviously incorrect due to the factors mentioned above. In the lists the 94 Bantoanon words that were elicited are shown. (The same, or cognate, forms are in the lefthand column, and the variant forms are in the righthand column. Also given are the areas where the equivalents were obtained.)

Same (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)

Variant

Body parts:

1.	'head'	uyo
2.	'hair'	buhok
3.	'ear'	talinga
4.	'eye'	mata
5.	'nose'	ilong
6.	'mouth'	yubaq
7.	'tongue'	rilaq
8.	'neck'	liqog
9.	'back'	likor
11.	'hand (and arm)'	[ ]
13.	'right (hand)'	tuqo
14.	'leg (and foot)'	[ ]
15.	'skin (of person)'	anit
16.	'bone'	suka
17.	'blood'	rogoq
18.	'heart'	pusoq
20.	'liver'	atay

10. 'belly'
bitoka (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
baliwqang (Od)
pusqon (Bn, Ca)

12. 'left (hand)'
wala (Od, Bn, Sm, Ca)
kaliwaq (Si)

19. 'guts (intestines)'
tinage (Od, Sm, Ca)
bitoka (Bn, Si, Sm)
tripilya (Bn, Sm)

Human and kinship terms:

21.	'man (male)'	kayake
22.	'woman'	kabade
23.	'child (young)'	anak
24.	'husband'	asawa
25.	'wife'	asawa
28.	'person'	tawo
29.	'name'	ngayan

26. 'father'
tatay (Od, Bn, Si, Ca)
papay (Sm)

27. 'mother'
nanay (Od, Bn, Si, Ca)
mamay (Sm)

Plant terms:

30.	'flower'	buyak
31.	'tree'	kahoy
32.	'bark (of tree)'	anit it kahoy
33.	'leaf'	rahon
34.	'root'	gamot

35. 'fruit'
bunga (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
prutas (Od, Si, Sm, Ca)

Fire complex:

36.	'stick (of wood)'	[ ]
37.	'fire'	kayado
38.	'to burn (a field)'	sunug
39.	'smoke'	aso

40. 'ashes'
agbun (Od)
abo (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)

Animal terms:

41.	'dog'	iroq
42.	'fish'	israq
43.	'louse (head)'	kuto
44.	'snake'	sawa
45.	'worm'	[ ]
47.	'feather (large)'	bayukag
48.	'tail (of rooster)'	ikog
49.	'egg'	itlog
51.	'to fly'	yupar

46. 'bird'
pispis (Od, Ca)
yanggam (Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)

50. 'wing'
pakpak (Od, Ca)
pakoq (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)

Meteorological terms:

52.	'day (not night)'	adlaw
53.	'night'	gabqe
54.	'cold (weather [water 372])'	mayamig
55.	'cloud'	rampog
56.	'to rain'	uyan
57.	'wind (breeze)'	hangin

Geophysical features:

58.	'woods'	[ ]
60.	'water'	tubiq
61.	'lake'	[ ]
62.	'river'	[ ]
63.	'sea (ocean)'	ragat
64.	'sand'	baybay
66.	'sky'	langit
67.	'star'	bituqon

59. 'mountain'
baguntor (Od, Bn, Si, Sm)
bukir (Sm, Ca)

65. 'earth'
ragaq (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
dotaq (Si, Ca)

Numerals:

68.	'one'	usa
69.	'two'	ruha
70.	'three'	tatlo
71.	'four'	apqat
72.	'five'	lima

Colour terms:

73.	'black'	itom
74.	'white'	putiq
75.	'red'	puya
76.	'yellow'	ruyaw

77. 'green'
berde (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
grin (Si, Ca)

Descriptives:

78. 'near'	mayungot
79. 'far'	mayado
80. 'short'	malipqot
81. 'long'	mahabaq
82. 'thick'	maramoy
83. 'thin'	manipis
84. 'sharp'	matayom
85. 'dull'	barong
87. 'narrow'	makitir
89. 'dry (substance)'	uga
90. 'new'	baggo
91. 'old'	yumaq
92. 'good'	maqado
93. 'bad'	mayaqin
94. 'to push'	tuyor
96. 'small'	maqisut
97. 'big'	marakoq

86. 'wide'
mayapar (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
mabuka (Od, Si, Sm, Ca)

88. 'wet'
basaq (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
hupit (Si)

95. 'to pull'
bira (Od, Sm, Ca)
butong (Bn, Si, Sm)

Interrogatives:

98. 'who?'
siqo (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
singo (Od, Ca)

99. 'where?'
riqin (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
hariqin (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)

100. 'when (future)?' saquno

100. 'when (past)?'
kaguno (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
kaquno (Si, Ca)

101. 'what?'
niqo (Od, Bn, Si, Sm, Ca)
naqo (Od, Ca)
ano (Od)

4. Comments and suggestions

The following comments and suggestions relate to the problems encountered when we used the 101 Philippine word list in conjunction with the Expanded Philippine word list.

bark As Zorc notes, Philippine languages rarely have a single equivalent for the English word 'bark'. 'It is most often translated by skin of tree or peeling of tree' (1977:172). Since 'skin' is on the list otherwise, it might be advisable to follow Zorc and replace 'bark' with 'body'. He says that 'the forms elicited usually define isoglosses corresponding to major subgroups among Philippine languages (1977:172).

cold (weather) In the '372' list, 'cold (water)' is found. We found no difference between the equivalent for this term and that for 'cold (weather)' on the '101' list; therefore, we suggest that 'cold' as it refers to water be included in the '101' list also. 'Cold' would then be a descriptive term, not a meteorological.

earth (soil) This term could not easily be differentiated from 'earth (ground)', which is in the '372' list. We suggest, therefore, that 'earth (ground)' be used in both lists.

feather (large) This term does not correspond to 'feather (tail of rooster)', which is the item in the '372' list and for which the word 'tail' was frequently supplied. We suggest amending the '372' list in this case to include 'feather (large)'.

green The equivalents obtained for this term were 'green' or 'verde/berde', the English and Spanish terms respectively. 'Since there is often too much difficulty in eliciting homosemantic colour terms in Philippine languages' (Zorc 1977:172), we suggest, again following Zorc, that 'green' be used in the sense of 'unripe'. This item would then be transferred to the list of descriptives.

hand (and arm) and **leg (and foot)** During our survey, respondents sometimes read the list in English, and these items would bother most of them because the composite term does not seem to exist. We suggest, therefore, changing both lists to include the specific terms for 'hand' and 'foot'.

husband and **wife** These terms are the same in most Philippine languages; thus, they may be understood as more equivalent to the English term 'spouse'. We suggest, therefore, that 'wife' on the '101' list be replaced by some other useful item, for example, 'hot (water)'--a substitution that would reduce the redundancy in the list.

lake In the five island communities we surveyed, the word 'lake' was unknown to most respondents since there are no lakes in those areas. One or two old men knew a word for 'lake', but it seems that it probably is an archaic term that is no longer in current use. For further surveys of islands, where a similar problem may exist, we would suggest that some other geophysical term be substituted for 'lake'.

old This term should refer specifically, as it does in the '372' list, to things, or objects, not to people.

to rain Refer to the '372' list, where the noun 'rain' is found. It would seem that it would be easier to use the term as a noun in both lists.

river Again, in the island situation where we surveyed, 'river' and 'stream' were confused. We suggest, therefore, that either the word be defined by the addition of '(not stream)' or it be replaced with another word, such as 'well (of water)', which would be in the same semantic domain.

short and **thin** These terms should be specified to refer to things, not people, since there are distinct equivalents of these terms in Philippine languages that refer to both people and things.

sky For this item the equivalent for 'cloud' was routinely given. We suggest that 'blue, cloudless sky' be used to specify what is meant.

stick (of wood) This item should be replaced with the more easily elicited item, 'wood'. This would bring the '101' and '372' lists into agreement. The inaccurate equivalent 'bamboo fencing stick' was often given for this item. 'Stick' also prompted other inaccurate equivalents, like 'branch', 'wood', and 'bamboo'--all of which indicate that 'stick' does not appear to be used in Philippine languages as it is in English.

woods There is a need to differentiate between 'jungle' and 'forest (planted)'. We suggest that this item be specified as referring to 'jungle'.

worm This item was not well known in our area. Repeatedly 'centipede' was given, but sometimes a generic equivalent meaning 'soft, crawly things' was used. We suggest that the specific item 'centipede' be used. Sometimes a picture of an item being requested would be useful, but even this would not be foolproof in instances like 'soft, crawly things'!

Also, the '372' list includes a number of items that are not in the '101' list but deserve comment. These items are:

206. **offspring** This item is indefinite. We suggest that it be replaced with 'grandchild'.

226. **raincloud** For this term, respondents gave the same equivalents as they would for 'cloud'. We suggest that the term be deleted. The equivalents given were usually some English technical term, such as cumulus, or the term meaning 'dark', perhaps because 'the sky is darkening toward rain'.

342. **waterfall** This is another item that is not very well known in these island regions.

360. **wine (rice)** This is not known in the Bantoanon region. We suggest that it be replaced with 'wine (coconut sap)'.

The grammatical section of the '101' list, from pronouns to negatives, should be stated in terms different from those that have been used. Terminology like 'focused' was not easy to explain; therefore, it was difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the equivalents desired. It seems to us that elicitation from concrete examples, such as 'my', 'this', or 'he did not go', would be simpler to use. We suggest, therefore, that English forms, or Tagalog forms such as those that go with ang, ng, and sa, be given as examples of what is desired.

On the other hand, English sentences are not easy to use to obtain correct grammatical forms because the terminology, e.g. 'focused', fits Philippine languages, not English. Another reason why English forms are not really suitable is because the equivalents respondents give depend on respondents' ideas about how to translate English sentences.

As mentioned above, it seems that it was useful to add locatives, that is, 'here', 'there (nearby)', and 'there (far away)'--which are similar in form to demonstratives--to the grammatical items to be elicited. It would take some knowledge of the language before one would learn that there are various sets of locatives. In fact, the people themselves were not aware of these sets until they were specifically questioned about them.

With regard to the lexicostatistical data used in connection with this survey, see section 6.2.2.2 for a description of the method used to obtain them. Although this data base is limited, it was sufficient for comparison and for correlation with the sociolinguistic data that were gathered for Bantoanon. In a word, it was adequate for this survey of one language and its dialects. Further, these data would also be a starting point for any comparison one might want to make with the neighbouring languages of Romblomanon, Looknon, and Hiligaynon.

APPENDIX E

ACCESSIBILITY AND TRANSPORTATION

Romblon Province is accessible by sea and by air from Manila, and by sea from such ports as Batangas and Lucena on Luzon and from Mindoro, Panay, and other islands. Sea transportation is available within the province as is land transportation, particularly on Tablas and Romblon Islands. The three islands of Banton, Simara, and Sibale are less accessible by sea, and they have limited land transportation. All transportation within the province is safe, and historically Romblon Province has been peaceful.

Large numbers of people routinely travel by all these modes of transportation, but during the busy times, such as during national and religious holidays, during fiestas, and at school graduation times, the numbers increase.

1. Sea

Historically, the islands in Romblon Province have been accessible only by sea, and this is still the most common means of access. Romblon town has an excellent, sheltered natural harbour, from where it is connected to Luzon by regular shipping lines. The second-best natural, sheltered harbour in the province is at Concepcion, on Sibale. Artificial ports have been built at Odiongan and San Agustin, which are on either side of Tablas Island.

On Tablas, Odiongan is the larger port, and it has weekly scheduled connecting links with Mindoro, with Luzon (it is a ten-hour overnight trip to Manila), and with Zamboanga. There were links in the past with Masbate and Palawan. San Agustin receives smaller ships that are bound for Batangas or Lucena (a ten to twelve-hour overnight trip), as well as the interisland motorized pumpboats connecting Tablas and Romblon. These boats run two or three times each day, and it takes between one-half hour and two hours to make the crossing. These boats have schedules that are co-ordinated with those of the airline and the jeeps so that it is possible to travel directly from the airport to Romblon by jeep and by motorized pumpboat--a trip that takes approximately three hours. Other small pumpboat lines connect Tablas, from Looc, with the north coast of Panay and the tourist beach on Boracay.

Banton's eastern coast is exposed, and the artificial port on that side of the island--a port that was nearly completed when we were surveying--is constantly battered by the sea. Banton's regular transportation is the weekly mailboat from Romblon. A direct trip of this mailboat in fine weather takes three hours, but if the boat calls at Simara enroute, the trip takes longer. When we were there in 1984, there was also a biweekly pumpboat that went to Pinamalayan, on Mindoro, sometimes stopping at Sibale enroute. There are also some local boats that ply irregularly between Sibale and Banton and between Simara and Banton. In addition, there are private boats that can be hired.

Scheduled travel from Tablas to Sibale would be by boat from Odiongan to southern Mindoro, by jeep up the east coast of Mindoro to Pinamalayan, then by the daily pumpboat to Concepcion. The interisland boat from Concepcion also services the coastal barangays as required.

There are boats that link Romblon with Bongabon on eastern Mindoro, but these are expensive and irregular. Simara is visited weekly by the Romblon-Banton mailboat--if there is mail! Simara is also serviced weekly by larger cargo ships from Batangas and biweekly by an interisland boat from Calatrava. Calatrava had a port under construction, but at the time we were there it received only the biweekly motorboat from Simara.

2. Land

On Tablas Island there are well-maintained bridges and roads, of which some are paved. Most of these roads are around the coasts, joining the main towns, which are also on the coasts. There is also a road across the island between Odiongan and Tugdan airport. Jeeps run almost hourly, from around six in the morning till two or later in the afternoon. They co-ordinate with the arrival of the major ships in Odiongan and other ports of entry, and they shuttle passengers and cargo to other ports, from where smaller interisland motorboats take them to Panay or Romblon. Larger cargoes can be transported on hired jeeps or on the daily Santo Niño bus. Local transportation in the port towns is by tricycle and, occasionally, by private car and truck.

Inhabitants of Calatrava have access to the jeeps that go frequently between Odiongan and San Agustin; therefore, they have ways of traveling both to the Tugdan airport and to Romblon. Calatrava has no public tricycles, although it can be reached by tricycle from San Agustin.

Simara has a few public tricycles and some private motorcycles and bicycles, which can be used on the paths, which are wide enough for two tricycles to meet each other and pass. These paths connect the various barangays, which are also on the coast, and the one between Corcuera and Mabini is cemented.

Banton has only bicycles in the poblacion and only a small section of cemented path. All centres, whether coastal or interior among the mountains, are reached by hiking on paths over the sometimes rugged terrain.

Sibale has paths across and around the island, and these paths link the coastal barangays, which are reached by hiking. Cargo is sometimes transported by packhorse. Only a couple private bicycles were seen.

3. Air

The provincial airport is at Tugdan in the south-eastern part of Tablas, and it is connected directly by jeep with Odiongan, on the west coast, and with San Agustin, on the north-east coast. It is from San Agustin that connections are made by boat with the capital of Romblon. Connections can also be made from Tugdan to Looc in the south and then to Boracay. At the time we were making this survey, there were flights to Manila four times a week, but by early 1984 the frequency of flights had been increased to six times a week. This increase in flights may have been to encourage tourists to travel to the nearby island of Boracay.

APPENDIX F

POSSIBLE ALLOCATION SITES

1. Dialect factors

Based on lexicostatistical study (cf. 6.2.2), the dialect that is most central linguistically (see Table 31) is either the one on Banton or the one on Simara. The Sibale dialect is also closely related to that of Banton, but its intonation has less prestige, and its closer contact with Tagalog areas on Mindoro has seemed to result in the assimilation of more loanwords. Sociolinguistic factors (cf. 6.2-4) show that of the dialects on Banton and Simara Banton's is definitely preferable on the grounds of intonation, productivity, richness of lexical expression, and historical prestige.

The dialects spoken on the three islands of Banton, Simara, and Sibale are, for sociolinguistic reasons, viewed by Bantoanons as a subdialect of the Bantoanon language, distinct from the dialect on Tablas. The Odiongan and Calatrava dialects show evidence of being more influenced by Romblomanon and Tagalog and of having less variety of Bantoanon lexical items.

The most prestigious dialects in the two subdialect areas of the Bantoanon language area are the one on Banton, in the three islands area, and the one in Odiongan, on Tablas. Any literature produced in the Bantoanon language would have to be acceptable to both dialect groups.

2. Village factors

All of the three islands are somewhat isolated, especially during the wet season. Banton has the best dialect to learn, but it is also the most inaccessible (cf. Appendix E, 1), reachable only by sea on the weekly mailboat--a trip from Romblon that takes three hours in good weather.

The town of Banton receives mail weekly from Romblon, and its supplies come from Romblon or from Pinamalayan, on Mindoro. Fish can usually be bought locally, and there are a few local grocery stores and numerous sari-sari stores, but no vegetable or meat markets. We assume that some vegetables and meat could be bought occasionally from local residents if they had any for sale. The catches of fish are small during hot weather and during the full moon, and probably also during rough, wet weather. This would be a hardship since fish is such a staple part of the diet in these islands.

There is radio communication between provincial municipios, and there is the public telegraph service, which has an office in Banton. There is a full complement of medical personnel, including doctor, dentist, nurse, and midwife, on Banton, but the nearest hospital is at Romblon.

Sibale and Simara are more accessible than Banton. Sibale has daily contact by boat with the supply town of Pinamalayan, but it has no daily market, only a few stores, and no hospital. Simara has biweekly contact by boat with Calatrava, which means access to Odiongan or Romblon, and it also has weekly contact with Romblon by the mailboat that comes enroute to Banton--provided there is mail for Simara! There is no market on Simara, but there are more and better stocked stores, including a bakery, than there are in Banton. On all the three islands, drinking water, which is sometimes salty or tasteless, comes from wells, but it is scarce in the dry season. There is a clinic, but when we were surveying, no hospital. Later, in 1984, a hospital was built on Simara.

Odiongan is the second most important port in the province, with frequent sea, land, and air transportation service. Odiongan is a good supply town, second only to Romblon. It has a variety of well-stocked stores and daily vegetable, fish, and meat markets. Some market supplies come from Manila on the weekly boat; others are grown locally.

Communications on Tablas are similar to those on Banton, except that the postal service is much better due to daily service, which is possible because of the roads and the means of transportation on that island. Electric service was to be installed on Tablas during 1983 and 1984. Also, the towns on Tablas have good water.

There are medium-sized, well-staffed hospitals in Odiongan and Romblon, as well as a smaller one in San Agustin. Calatrava has a clinic. When we were doing our survey, Calatrava had the services of a Bantoanon doctor, who was serving his hometown community while awaiting the results of his final examination for graduation as a medical doctor. At that time there were also a resident nurse and midwife. Dental care was available in San Agustin, Odiongan, and Romblon.

Calatrava is quite accessible by sea, land, and air. It has a small market, which is open daily, and a number of good stores, which receive supplies overland from Odiongan approximately every three days and from Odiongan or San Agustin by the weekly boats. Calatrava has access to the major centres of both Odiongan and Romblon.

3. Allocation site

Since Banton, the best allocation site as far as the language is concerned, is isolated, especially in the wet season, we venture to suggest the following alternatives as possible ways the allocation of translation personnel in the Bantoanon language area could be handled:

(a) The first, most preferable alternative would be to allocate personnel on Banton for language learning and beginning translation. Then after a number of years, they would move to Tablas and work there with speakers from the two major dialect areas: the three islands and Tablas Island.

(b) Our second alternative would, as in the first alternative, have personnel allocated on Banton for language learning and beginning translation, but the difference is that they would work on Banton only during the annual dry season and return to Tablas to work there during the wet season.

(c) The third, least preferable alternative would have personnel allocated on Tablas, where they would work first with language assistants who speak the Banton dialect and then later with assistants who speak the other dialects.

As to where a team might locate on Tablas, Odiongan and Calatrava are the two possibilities. With regard to Odiongan, its dialect seems to be the 'purer' of the two. As seen by lexicostatistical comparison, the dialect spoken in Calatrava has been influenced the most by other languages.

> On the other hand, Calatrava is a smaller, less urban area than Odiongan is, and it has a smaller, more homogenoeous population, with fewer non-Bantoanons than are found in Odiongan. Also, as we found when we were there learning to speak Bantoanon, practically all the people in Calatrava speak Bantoanon.
>
> In summary, if Tablas were to be the allocation site later in the project after the personnel had learned the language and had begun translation, probably either Odiongan or Calatrava would be suitable. Of the two, Odiongan would be preferable on lexicostatistical grounds, but the urban population would be a negative factor. Calatrava seems to be a central site as far as the two subdialect areas are concerned, and it could be useful as a site for language area meetings, such as, for example, translation training seminars.

With regard to housing in a Bantoanon allocation, houses are occasionally vacant, but they are not always for rent since their owners like to have the extra space available for family members at fiesta time. Thus, a team would probably have to build a house in their allocation. Houses of traditional nipa style, modern cement block construction, or a combination of these styles would be acceptable. Building is done mostly during the dry season. Cement and other materials for building on Banton would probably have to be purchased at one of the trading centres and transported to the island. On the other hand, there are local tradesmen on Banton who perhaps could procure one's building materials. If, after a team had built a house, it became necessary or desirable later in the project to sell in order to move, that should not be too great a problem because the population is growing.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bugenhagen, Robert. 1981a. A guide for conducting sociolinguistic surveys in Papua New Guinea. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

_____. 1981b. Dimir: A sociolinguistic survey. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Casad, Eugene H. 1974. Dialect intelligibility testing. SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, 38. Norman, OK: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma.

Combs, Martin. 1977. Cultural considerations in language change and communication. In Loving and Simons 1977 (eds.), 217-32.

Loving, Richard. 1977. Guidelines for writing up language surveys. In Loving and Simons 1977 (eds.), 317-24.

_____. 1981 Information for conducting sociolinguistic surveys in Sepik language groups. Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages, 29.9-42. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

_____, and Gary Simons. 1977 (eds.) Language variation and survey techniques. Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages, 21. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Reid, Lawrence A. 1971 (ed.) Philippine minor languages: Word lists and phonologies. Oceanic Linguistics special publication, 8. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Sanders, Arden G. 1977. Guidelines for conducting a lexicostatistic survey in Papua New Guinea. In Loving and Simons 1977 (eds.), 21-41.

Sanders, Joy. 1977. On defining the centre of a linguistic group. In Loving and Simons 1977 (eds.), 263-94.

Schooling, Stephen, and Janice Schooling. n.d. A preliminary sociolinguistic and linguistic survey of Manus Province, Papua New Guinea. Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Simons, Linda. 1977. Guidelines for intelligibility testing in Papua New Guinea. In Loving and Simons 1977 (eds.), 233-51.

MATERIALS ABOUT THE VERNACULAR AND THE VERNACULAR AREA

Banton Municipal Government. 1982. Banton municipal investment plan. Banton, Romblon Province.

Fabella, Gabriel F., Sr. 1976. Romblon archipelago: Banton, Calatrava, Concepcion, and Corcuera. Series no.1. San Mateo, Rizal, Philippines: ITP Press.

_____. 1980a. Romblon archipelago: Banton and Sibale. Series no.1. San Mateo, Rizal, Philippines: ITP Press.

_____. 1980b. Romblon archipelago: The island of Simara and its pueblo Corcuera. Series No.1. San Mateo, Rizal, Philippines: ITP Press.

_____. 1980c. Romblon archipelago: The municipal district of Calatrava. Series no.1. San Mateo, Rizal, Philippines: ITP Press.

_____. 1980d. Romblon archipelago: The island of Sibale and its pueblo Concepcion. Series no.1. San Mateo, Rizal, Philippines: ITP Press.

Fadrilan, Rinzi F. 1983 (ed.) Yagting 1918-1983: A commemorative publication of the 65th anniversary of Banton.

Galeng, Zoilo M. 1957 (ed.) Encyclopaedia of the Philippines, vol. 16.299.

Grimes, Barbara F. 1984 (ed.) Ethnologue. 10th edn. Dallas, TX: Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc.

Hendry, Robert S. 1959 (ed.) Atlas of the Philippines. Philippines: Phil-Asian Publishers, Inc.

Mindo, Dinah F. 1983. Dialects in the province of Romblon. Romblon: Provincial Office, Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports. Mimeo.

Moreno, E. D. 1974. Romblon rural radio: A project study. Master's thesis, Mass Communications Library, University of the Philippines.

Nickell, Tom. 1978. Report of Western Visayas language survey. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Typescript.

Odiongan Municipal Government. 1983. Town fiesta and foundation day (in honor of patron Saint Vincent Ferrer). Odiongan, Romblon Province.

Philippines (Republic). Bureau of the Census and Statistics. 1975. Integrated census of the population and its economic activities: Population, Oriental Mindoro. Manila: Bureau of Printing.

_____. National Economic and Development Authority and the National Census and Statistics Office. 1983. Philippine yearbook. Manila: Bureau of Printing.

Zorc, R. David. 1972. The Western subgroup of Bisayan. Oceanic Linguistics 11:2.110-39.

_____ 1977. The Bisayan dialects of the Philippines: Subgrouping and reconstruction. Pacific Linguistics, series C, no. 44. Canberra: The Australian National University.

MATERIALS IN THE VERNACULAR

McKillip, Dennis. 1979 (ed.) Mga kanta sa simbang-gab-i ag sa Pasko 'Songs for evening church and for Christmas'. Sibale, Romblon Province: Roman Catholic Church.

_____. 1981 (ed.) Asi magkanta kita sa Misa 'Our Bantoanon Songs for Mass'. Sibale, Romblon Province: Roman Catholic Church.

Philippines (Republic). Ministry of Justice. Administrative Division, Probation Administration. 1979. Probation: Presidential decree no. 968, Bantoanon (Romblon). Quezon City.

SURVEY METHODS AND THEIR INSIGHTS INTO THE ACCEPTABILITY OF LITERATURE AMONG RELATED VARIETIES

Michael P. Downey
Summer Institute of Linguistics

1. Introduction
1.1 Overview
1.2 Background of this study
1.3 Demography
2. Linguistic similarity
2.1 Linguistic similarity as demonstrated by lexicostatistic testing
2.2 Linguistic similarity as demonstrated by comparison of phonologies
2.3 Linguistic similarity as demonstrated by comparison of grammars
3. Evaluating comprehension and bilingualism
3.1 Comprehension testing versus bilingualism testing
3.2 Comprehension testing
3.3 Bilingualism testing
4. Testing for sociolinguistic factors
4.1 Sociolinguistic surveying
4.2 Determining language attitudes
4.3 Determining language maintenance and language shift
4.4 Determining the sociolinguistic situation in Mayoyao, Ifugao
5. Testing specialized lexical categories
5.1 Specialized lexical categories
5.2 Comparison of the Mayoyao and Batad lects with respect to the category of religious terminology
6. Conclusions
Notes
Appendixes
Selected bibliography

1. Introduction

1.1 Overview

Many man-hours of effort have been invested in the devising of valid and reliable language survey methodologies. Swadesh initiated modern survey methods with lexicostatistics and his list of two hundred basic vocabulary items. In order that new kinds of questions may be answered, surveying has progressed to comprehension tests and sociolinguistic investigation. Each methodology has its own purpose and goal. That is, lexicostatistics is used to determine the degree of genetic linguistic relationship between two varieties; comprehension testing is used to determine how well the speakers of one variety understand the speakers of another variety and vice versa; and sociolinguistic techniques are used to determine (1) how the speakers of one variety feel about another one and the use of it and (2) the vitality of the two varieties. The insights linguists gain from each survey method make possible both intelligent decisions about planning vernacular literature programs and predictions about the extent (both demographic and geographic) to which the vernacular literature that is produced will be used.

The traditional survey methodologies of lexicostatistics and comprehension testing alone can not answer the question, How acceptable is the written literature of lect[1] A for use with speakers of lect B? What is needed is for these survey techniques to be augmented with sociolinguistic methods, which test the acceptability across dialect boundaries of both prominent literary terms and key grammatical forms, the latter of which have a cohesive function in speech and are critical for understanding.

When determining whether literature that has been, or will be, produced for one variety is acceptable for other varieties of that language, one should ask two basic questions. The first is, Can speakers of the other lects use the literature? This forces the researcher into the realm of comprehension. He must determine if the sound systems, lexicons, and grammars are similar enough for adequate understanding of the literature and its intended message. It is our purpose in sections 2 and 3 of this study[2] to provide techniques to answer this question.

In section 2, the focus is on survey methodologies that give insight into the linguistic similarity between lects of the same language. Three aspects are covered: phonological, lexical, and grammatical similarity.

In section 3, the focus is on linguistic similarity also, but from a different perspective. Instead of a language's being investigated in terms of its phonology, lexicon, and grammar as separate components, in comprehension testing all three components are considered together, as a linguistic unit, as efforts are made to determine how well, for example, speakers of variety B understand a message given in variety A.

The second question to be asked is, Will speakers of the other lects use the literature? This question assumes that there is adequate understanding of variety A by the speakers of the other lects; however, due to sociolinguistic factors the speakers of the other lects may not accept the literature produced in variety A, even though they may understand it. Thus, the message is not received. In sections 4 and 5, then, the focus is on survey methodologies that give insight into the acceptability of literature.

In section 4, three techniques of sociolinguistic surveying are considered: interviewing, observation, and use of questionnaires. Each of these is a check and a balance on the others in the process of arriving at valid conclusions in a systematic way.

In section 5, a specific topic that bears on acceptability of literature is investigated. That topic is the prominent literary terms in a lect, and this study attempts to answer these questions: Are the key literary terms of each lect the same? If not, what are the factors that account for the differences?

1.2 Background of this study

In the Philippines, the Summer Institute of Linguistics has long had a translation project in the Batad area of Ifugao Province. During the years from the mid-1950s until recently the Institute has assumed that literature based on the Batad lect would be usable in the Mayoyao area of the same province and would be acceptable there as well.

Two factors came to light that made it necessary for that assumption to be reconsidered. The first was that well into 1985 there had been little or no use of the Batad literature by the people of Mayoyao. The other factor was a letter to the Institute by a Mayoyao man, stating that the people in Mayoyao could not adequately understand the Batad literature. He then went on to request the Institute to study the situation in Mayoyao and consider whether or not a translation project in that area should be initiated.

This study is the result of the Institute's investigation of the relationship between the lects in Batad and Mayoyao. The survey techniques describd in sections 2 through 5 were employed in the comparison of those two lects.

1.3 Demography

The Ifugao are an ethnic group who live in the central highlands of Ifugao Province in northern Luzon in the Philippines. The Ifugao of Mayoyao are a group of 15,711 living mainly in the municipality of Mayoyao in eastern Ifugao Province. Of this number, 6,900 are speakers of central Mayoyao. (These figures come from the 1985 Mayoyao Municipal Health Department statistics.)

The Mayoyao lect is classified as a Central Cordilleran language belonging to the Ifugao subgroup (Walton 1979). It is most closely related to Batad Ifugao, being 79% cognate (Walrod 1978). Batad is a barangay in Banaue Municipality.

Culturally, the Mayoyao Ifugao people are highland Philippiine. (They, along with all Ifugao, are well known for the way they have made extensive terraces for the purpose of cultivating rice on the steep mountains where they live.) Traditionally, they have had a complex religious system involving animal sacrifices to appease local deities in connection with their rice agriculture. Christianity was introduced during the early 1900s by the Roman Catholics, and the Protestants followed in the 1950s.

The people in the central valley of Mayoyao Municipality have long considered education to be important. Elementary schools were begun there during the American administration of the Philippines. A Catholic high school has operated since 1957, and now there is a government high school as well. There are many high school and college graduates living in the valley. The professional occupations found in the Mayoyao area are school teacher, government employee, policeman, businessman, medical professional, and clergyman.

The following political divisions in Ifugao, and in all the Philippines, are mentioned because of how they relate to the surveys that were carried out in the Mayoyao area. These subdivisions are not identical with any political subdivisions found in the United States, but they are analogous. For example, a province is analogous to a state; a municipality, to a county with one elected representative on the provincial council; and a barangay, to a township with one elected official on the municipal council. The poblacion is the seat of municipal government, and it is often the unofficial center of commerce.

2. Linguistic similarity

Linguistic similarity refers to the similarity between two languages, and it comprehends similarity in terms of the four components of those languages' structures: lexicon, phonology, grammar, and semantics. In terms of surveying languages for genetic relationship, there are, for the first two components, well-established methodologies, namely, lexicostatistics (Sanders 1977) and phonostatistics (Simons 1977a). Survey methods, however, for the latter two components are not as well defined and thus not as useful. Each component itself has been used to indicate linguistic similarity with respect to that component.

In the following sections, the first three components, namely, lexicon, phonology, and grammar, are considered with regard to similarity between the Batad and Mayoyao lects. In section 2.1, lexicostatistics is discussed in terms of how it shows similarity between the lexicons of these two lects. In section 2.2, no discussion of phonostatistics is attempted; instead, the phonologies of these two related lects are simply compared. In section 2.3, a text in the Batad lect is compared with the same text after it has been adapted for use in the Mayoyao area. The grammatical information that can be generalized from that comparison is then used as a measure of the similarity of the grammars of the two lects.

2.1 Linguistic similarity as demonstrated by lexicostatistic testing

Hymes (1960:4) states that 'lexicostatistics is the study of vocabulary statistically for historical inferences.' Linguists have used this method for the following three purposes: (1) to establish the relationships between languages, (2) to classify, or subgroup, related languages, and (3) to establish the times at which related languages began to diverge (Dyen 1975). This section focuses on the first use, namely, using lexicostatistics to demonstrate the genetic relationship between lects of the same language.

The method of lexicostatistic testing was first developed by Swadesh (1950). He proposed that it is possible by comparing the lexicons of related languages to establish the relationships among those languages and to compute the approximate time when those languages began to diverge. He made four assumptions, which Gudschinsky helpfully summarizes as follows:

> (1) Some parts of the vocabulary for any language are assumed, on empirical evidence, to be less subject to change than other parts, (2) the rate of retention of vocabulary items in the basic core of relatively stable vocabulary is constant through time, (3) the rate of loss of vocabulary is approximately the same in all languages, and (4) if the percentage of the cognates within the core vocabulary is known for any pair of languages, the length of time that has elapsed since the two languages began to diverge from a single parent language can be computed (1956:177-78).

It was on the basis of these assumptions that Swadesh developed the theory of glottochronology. He felt that it would be helpful if comparative linguists and anthropologists knew that certain languages were related and also the approximate time when those languages split from the parent language. It is not my purpose to use lexicostatistics to compute time depths since, for one reason, basic theoretical problems are involved (Simons 1979:68). Since, however, lexicostatistics can be an effective way of measuring overt similarity betweem varieties, regardless of whether the similarity is due to inheritance or to borrowing, I use the method in this study as a measure of linguistic relationship.

It is Swadesh's first assumption that especially interests me--that is, that there is in every language a core of basic vocabulary that is more resistant to change than other parts of the lexicon. If this is so, then when two or more lects, or languages, are compared and a number of lexical similarities are found, these similarities can reasonably be explained as being due to retention from a common ancestor language, possibly to borrowing, or to chance. But the greater the number of lexical similarities, the less the likelihood that these similarities are due to chance. With regard to borrowing, Swadesh's model holds that divergence of languages from a common ancestor is independent of neighboring lects and that languages do not converge due to contact and borrowing. Lexical items that were borrowed in the distant past may or may not undergo phonological leveling, but those borrowings that have leveled to the new variety can not be detected by means of the comparative method (Simons 1977b).

It was this first assumption of Swadesh's that gave rise to the development of the list of two hundred lexical items that became known as The Swadesh List of Basic Vocabulary. This list was modified later by Reid (1971) to make it more applicable to the Philippine linguistic situation. Reid's compilation of a vocabulary from a number of existing word lists became the Philippine 372 word list. A similar list has also been prepared for use in Papua New Guinea (Sanders 1977).

In a lexicostatistical survey, lists of words from two or more lects are elicited and then compared to find those forms that are apparently cognate. There are two basic methods for determining cognate relationships. The first is the comparative method, which is used in reconstructing protolanguages. The second, which may be called 'quick and dirty' and is used widely, is the inspection method. It is often the case, though, that two linguists--one using one method and the other, the other method--will come to different decisions as to which words are cognate and which ones are not.

The criteria for deciding if words are cognate are:

(1) Identical phonological segments in comparable positions

(2) Phonetically similar segments in comparable positions

(3) Conditioned segments in comparable positions

(4) Regularly corresponding pairs of segments in comparable positions even though these pairs are not phonetically similar

(For a fuller discussion of the use of the inspection and the comparative methods in making decisions as to cognate forms and of computing cognate percentages, see Sanders 1977.)

Turning now to the linguistic situation in Ifugao Province as it concerns Mayoyao and Batad in particular, we note that a lexicostatistic and intelligibility survey of all of Ifugao was done in 1972 (Walrod 1978). The centers in eastern Ifugao, relevant to the present study, where word lists were taken in 1972, are the Mayoyao poblacion and Batad. That survey showed that the percentage of cognates between Batad and Mayoyao was 85%. In this present study, however, a larger sample was obtained by taking word lists at Patjay, Guinihon, Ayangan, and Alimit as well as at Batad and Mayoyao.

The purpose of this lexicostatistic survey was to determine if the varieties spoken in Batad, Mayoyao, and the Bahelna communities are similar enough linguistically for the same written materials to be used in all those areas. Also, we sought to ascertain through informal questioning where the allegiances of the Bahelna speakers lay: whether toward Mayoyao, the locality with which they are politically aligned, or toward Batad. Bahelna, by the way, is a term coined by Central Mayoyao speakers to refer to the informal, social grouping of all the communities within Mayoyao Municipality that are not in the central valley (see Figure 1). Actually, this second goal does not pertain to a lexicostatistic survey, but since this survey was the only one to be undertaken in this particular area, we added it since we desired to get an idea of the Bahelna speakers' attitudes toward written literature in the vernacular.

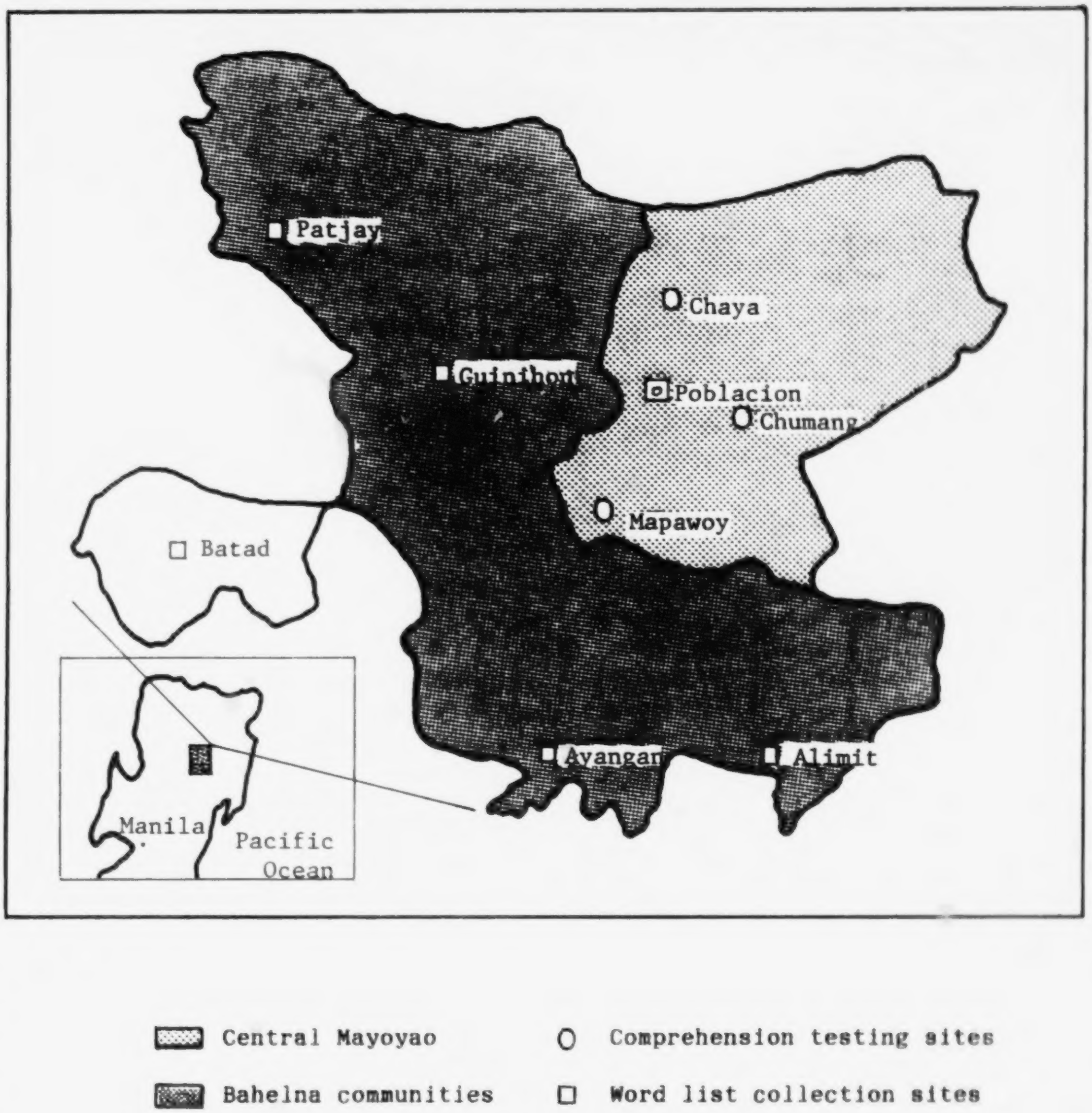

Patjay
Chaya
Guinihon
Poblacion
Chumang
Mapawoy
Batad
Ayangan
Alimit
Manila
Pacific Ocean
▨ Central Mayoyao
▩ Bahelna communities
○ Comprehension testing sites
☐ Word list collection sites

Figure 1. The Mayoyao Municipality

During the actual survey, a native speaker of Mayoyao Ifugao and I accompanied two Batad colporteurs on one of their trips to visit churches of the Association of Ifugao Bible Churches in the northwest portion of Mayoyao Municipality. On the trip, we took a word list in each of the places where we stayed overnight--places all of which were centers of population for the area.

My companion, the native speaker of Mayoyao Ifugao, holds a four-year college degree, and he is fluent in English, Pilipino, which is the Philippine national language, and Ilocano, which is the lingua franca of northern Luzon. He elicited the word list, while I acted as technician. We followed this procedure because he could easily check for synonyms in his own lect. My competence in Mayoyao Ifugao was such that, although I could understand the gist of what was being said, I could not probe for synonyms as accurately as he, a native speaker, could. He learned to transcribe phonetically by watching me, and he needed my help only if he encountered a sound that did not occur in Mayoyao (e.g. a flapped [l], which occurs in Guinihon but not in Mayoyao).

The percentages of shared cognates for the locations where we took word lists are shown in Figure 2. Each percentage is rounded off to the nearest percentage. (See Appendix A for a compilation of all six lists.)

BATAD					
95	GUINIHON				
83	86	PATJAY			
81	84	86	AYANGAN		
82	85	85	89	ALIMIT	
79	80	85	85	86	MAYOYAO

Figure 2. Unadjusted percentages of shared cognates

In Schooling 1981, the percentages of shared cognates are reported both as raw scores and as figures rounded off to the nearest 5%. Differences of 5% to 10% in cognate percentages are not significant, while exact percentages can be misleading if retained, because they are overprecise (Simons 1979). The adjusted scores are given in Figure 3.

BATAD					
95	GUINIHON				
85	85	PATJAY			
80	85	85	AYANGAN		
80	85	85	90	ALIMIT	
80	80	85	85	85	MAYOYAO

Figure 3. Adjusted percentages of shared cognates
(to the nearest 5%)

All scores were over 80% except that between Mayoyao and Batad, which was 79%. These two points in the text area are geographically the furthest apart (see Figure 1). Since those places were the two main centers of population in the area, we were especially careful to try to obtain synonyms when taking the word lists in those two locations. It would seem, with scores running in the mid 80s, that the municipality is fairly homogeneous. The one surprise was that Mayoyao and Guinihon are only 80% cognate even though they are closest neighbors. During our survey, informal questioning brought out that in all areas--Patjay, Guinihon, Ayangan, and Alimit--the people are emotionally and politically aligned toward the Central Mayoyao lect.

Results from the 1972 survey show Mayoyao and Batad to be 85% cognate, while the results of the present study show 79%. As discussed above, though, this is not a significant difference. Thus, the finding made through lexicostatistic surveying is that there is a strong genetic relationship between the Mayoyao and Batad lects--a finding that suggests that it should be possible for the same literature to be used in both places.

2.2 Linguistic similarity as demonstrated by comparison of phonologies

Linguistic similarity can also be demonstrated by comparing the phonologies of two related languages. A number of phonostatistic methods have been used to show that languages are related, but phonostatistics still has not been used as widely as has lexicostatistics because of the complicated calculations that go with the former (Simons 1977). (For a description of some phonostatistic methods, see McKaughan 1964 and Simons 1977.)

For the purposes of the present study, however, a simple comparison, without any statistical calculation, is made of the phonologies of the two related languages of Batad and Mayoyao. It can be seen in Figure 4 that this methodology clearly reveals the linguistic similarity between these two lects. The data for the phonology of Batad Ifugao comes from Newell 1970.

CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops (voiceless)	p	t	k	'
(voiced)	b	d	g	
Continuants				
Fricative				h
Resonants				
Oral		l		
Nasal	m	n	ng	
Semivowels	w	y		

VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Vowel length

Figure 4. Contrastive segments of Batad and Mayoyao Ifugao

In Figure 5, the voiceless bilabial stop with a voiceless velar fricative release is symbolized as [px]; the voiceless alveolar stop with an alveopalatal release is symbolized as [ts]; and the voiced alveopalatal sibilant is symbolized as [dy]. All three of these symbolizations are interpretations of Newell 1970.

	Syllable initial	Syllable final
Batad	[px]	[b]
Mayoyao	[pp]	[b]
Batad	[ts]	[d]
Mayoyao	[ts]	[d]
Batad	[l]	[r]
Mayoyao	[l]	[r]
Batad	[dy]	[y]
Mayoyao	[dz]	[y]

Figure 5. Major allophones of Batad and Mayoyao Ifugao

It can be seen from Figures 4 and 5 that the segments of Mayoyao and Batad are very similar. The only differences seem to be in the affricates, shown in Figure 5, and some other minor allophones that are not shown. Analysis of the pnonological conditioning reveals that the resulting contrastive segments are identical. This is significant because, coupled with the lexicostatistic scores, it shows that the two varieties are more similar to one another than they are dissimilar to the varieties that surround them (e.g. Ga'dang, Balangao, and Kadaklan). This has a bearing on the developing of an orthography for the people of Mayoyao, as is shown in section 4.4.3.

An arbitrary cutoff of 80% for cognate percentage has been used by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Philippines to facilitate decisions that concern vernacular literature programs. Those speech communities falling below 80% are candidates for their own literature programs, while those above 80% are considered to be able to use the same literature. Though the percentage presented in section 2.1, that is, 79%, may be close to the cutoff, the comparison of the two phonologies suggests that the two varieties are very similar--another finding that strengthens the argument that both Mayoyao and Batad should be able to use the same literature.

2.3 Linguistic similarity as demonstrated by comparison of grammar

Many people in central Mayoyao have stated that they could not understand the 'deep' words used in the Batad New Testament, one of the pieces of literature produced in that lect. This led to the question, Is it only lexical items, or do grammatical features as well hinder the Mayoyao people's understanding of Batad literature? It was decided to investigate in an informal, incomplete way the differences in grammar between Batad and

Mayoyao to determine if these contributed to the Mayoyao people's perceived inability to understand Batad literature.

Anne West (pers. comm.), a long-time resident among the Amganad Ifugao people (their lect is 80% cognate with Batad Ifugao (Walrod 1978)), spent some time in Mayoyao in 1980 to look into the linguistic situation there. During her visit, she received the impression that there are grammatical differences between Batad and Mayoyao. She described Mayoyao as having a 'full' style, that is, having many double demonstratives and much reduplication, with few clitics, while the opposite is true in Batad.

Simons (1979:67) states that it is difficult to quantify grammatical similarity without good analysis and good understanding of the grammars being compared. This is why it is difficult to use formal grammatical comparison as a survey tool. When comparing closely related lects, however, one possible option is to do an informal comparison, as outlined by Weber and Mann (1980). In this method, texts from related lects are compared with the goal of determining the feasibility of using the computer-assisted dialect adaptation (CADA) program (Weber and Mann 1980) to adapt literature in one lect to a related lect. This is the kind of comparison that was done in Mayoyao with the purpose of determining the difficulties found in Batad literature and the types of changes that would be necessary to make Batad literature usable in Mayoyao.

The method used in this study to collect and analyze grammatical data from the Batad and Mayoyao lects follows that outlined by Weber and Mann. In order to compare the grammar found in different discourse genres, first we chose three portions from the Batad New Testament: a parable (Luke 8:1-15) with its exposition, thus comparing narrative and expository genres; a narrative (Acts 9:1-19), and a hortatory text (2 Thess. 2:1-12). Second, the spelling of the Batad texts was changed to conform with the recommendations made by the Mayoyao alphabet committee in March 1985. Then, third, eleven persons, who were educated community leaders, were requested to make whatever changes they felt were necessary--from the level of phonological segments up to the sentence level--in order to make these portions read as good, natural Mayoyao. In instances where they could not understand the 'Mayoyao-ized' translation, the respondents were allowed to use any helps, including other translations. An original time limit of one week was set for completion of the task; however, that was later extended to two weeks. Only four of the eleven were able to complete all three portions, and two others were able to complete only the Luke portion. This did not affect the results, however, except that the sample was smaller than expected.

In order to have some control in the situation, with the assistance of two native speakers of Central Mayoyao I made a careful study of all three portions. This study included detailed discussions of the meanings of words and passages, and it was done prior to the respondents' returning the test portions.

In Figure 6 is shown a partial compilation of the corrections made by the six respondents who returned their portions. Since many of the changes are similar for all three genre types, only part of the Luke portion is presented here. The other two portions are similar in frequency and types of changes to the portion shown in Figure 6. (See Appendix B for the complete data. The rest of the portions are available on request.)

In Figure 6, the first line is the Batad translation. The second line is Batad as it has been adapted for Mayoyao spelling. The third and occasional fourth lines are the corrections and suggestions made by the respondents. Any gaps in the second lines mean that the Mayoyao forms are identical with the Batad.

LUKE 8:1-15

```
    1. Wan  nalpah   heden  na'na'at, ya immuy hi Jesus hinan
       Gwan narpah   hechen           ja
            naphalin chin                               hichin

abablubabluy,   ya inul'ulgudnay Mapmaphod an Ulgud  hi aat di
aphabluphabluy, ja inur'urkudnay              Urkud       chi
aphuglaphugla,     hinudhudnay                Hudhud    ama'atan

Pumpapto'an     Apo Dios. Ya ni'yuy       din  himpulut duwan
                          Ja ni'juy       chin          chugwan
pun'ap'apugwan               impainnilana
ponenchukan

intudtuduwana.    2. ya nitnud goh nan  udumnan binabain   lina'ahnay
intudtuchugwana.     ja        koh      uchumna phinaphain
disipolos                      ku  chin                    na'lahan
                                                           nonlo'phana

     nun'ihu'lung an nappuhin     lennawan  dida,   ya nan  udumna  goh an
                                            chicha, ja      uchumna koh
chin nunehe'op    an              penachang            chin         ku
                     napokit   an spiritan

inyadaognay       lewohonda;      ya niddum  ay dida   Maria, an nungngadan
injachaognay      legwohoncha;    ja nidchum    chicha           unugngachan
na'akahan    chin chokohcha    an            a           0

hi Marian iMagdala  an             pituy    nun'appuhin  lennawah  nala'ah
   Maria
          Magdalena                pitu  an nunapukit an spiritan
                    an nakakan chi pitu  hi              penachang

hi odolna,   3. ya hi Joana goh, an ahawan  Dusa, an nun'endogoh
   ochorna,     ja          koh,    ahagwan          nun'enchogoh
                            ku                       kun mannig
                                                     apapo hichi palacion
```

Figure 6. Partial data for grammatical comparison

Helod, ya hi Suhana goh, ya nan udumnan do'ol an binabai.
Herod, koh, ja uchumnan cho'or phinaphai.
ku chin

Ya hinalimunanda da Jesus ti nan abalinanday imbadangda.
Ja hinalimunancha cha aphalinanchay imphachangcha
An timmulong ay hi mahaporna an narpu ay chicha

4. Na'amungday do'ol hi tagun nalpuh nan abablubabluy, ya
Na'amungchay cho'or takun narpuh aphubluphabluy, ja
Gwan na'amungchachin an atakutaku an hi

inulgud Jesus han nipa''el, ya inalinay, 5. Wa han immuy hi umanan
inurkud nipa''er, ja Gwa
immali chan ja inalina ay chicha han oha an hudhud
an impadchungna han ohan taku

munhabuag hi oho'; ya unat goh inhabuagna, ya waday nagah
munhaphuag ja koh inhaphuagna, ja gwachay nakah
nuntanum timphug gwan kuna ihapuuwo' hichin uchumna ja

hinan dalan an natoptop, at immuy nan hamuti, ya
chalan ja
cha chin 0 ja naphaicho' ja hayhachi hagwiti
non'ilaitcha cha

a ya nunhobatda nan oho'. 6. Ya nagah din
ja nunhophatcha Ja nakah chin
(implied eat) chi timphug
ja nun'a'ancha chin timphug

udumnah nan lutan nipa'pa' hinan batu, ya ag'aga ya himmangaw
uchumna phatu ja ag'aka ja
ay chi nepa'pa' hichin kagkaju
hichin

mu unat goh naptangan, ya nalyaw, ti mi'id aton di lamutnan lumhod
koh ja narjaw, chi
muti unog ku naghitan lomhob

ti un mayapit nan luta. 7. Ya nagah din udumnah nan way lamut;
majapit Ja nakah chin uchumna gway
ta 0 chin achan chi mapakat

ya ni'hangaw hinan holo', ya na'ipit, at agguy pinumhod.
ja ja agkuy
hichin henajumhumana hotti nalanhuh

Figure 6. Partial data for grammatical comparison (continued)

8.	Mu	nan	udumna,	ya	nagah	hinan	way	lo'eh		an	luta;
			uchumna,	ja	nakah		gway				
	Muti	chin				hichin	acha'an	chi	maphod		

ya	himmangaw,	ya	bimmunga,	ya	numbalin	hi	hinggahinggagahut	di
ja		ja	phimmunga,	ja	numphalin		hingkahingkakahut	chi

bungan	di	hinohha.	Ya	wan	nalpah	henen	inulgudna,	ya	imbugawnan	
phungan	chi		Ja	gwan	narpah		inurkudna,	ja	imphukawnan	
		henohha			naphalin	chin	hudhudna		ini'gapna	an
									inalina	

mangali,	Hay	mahapul,	ya	ihamadyun	ingaon	ul'ulgudo'.
		mahapur,	ja	ihamadjun		ur'urkudo'
				enephodjun	changngor	hinudhud'u

Figure 6. Partial data for grammatical comparison (continued)

The places in the text in Figure 6 where two or three options are given represent the responses different people gave at those points, and since all those responses are linguistically correct, they have been included. Further study would be necessary to determine which is the better, or the best, choice.

The Mayoyao speakers made four types of change in the Batad texts. The first type is phonological, in which one or more segments are changed, e.g. nipa'pa' to nepa'pa' in verse 6. The other three types of change are all on the lexical level. The first of these lexical changes is that in which a prominent literary term in the Batad lect is changed to one that is acceptable in Mayoyao, e.g. intudtuchugwana is changed to disipolos in verse 1. The second type of lexical change involves those other words that are commonly used in Batad, but are not used in Mayoyao, e.g. ulgud to hudhud 'story' in verse 1 and aat to ama'atan 'like, similar' in verse 1. The last type of lexical change involves grammatical function words that, although they share similar meaning and function in both Batad and Mayoyao, are not transferable into the Mayoyao lect, e.g. nan to chin, which is a noun marker, in verse 3, hinan to hichin, a demonstrative, in verse 7, and mu to muti 'but' in verse 8. Such grammatical forms as these can be a block to full understanding.

A possible test to determine the degree to which these grammatical function words affect understanding would be to take a text in lect A and substitute only the function words of lect B. A second text could be the same text in which changes had been made according to the other lexical differences. A test could then be done with speakers of lect A to find out how well they understood the two altered texts, with the unaltered text serving as the baseline.

No reasons have been given for the changes since this would be involved and would not be that profitable in an informal study of this kind. If this investigation were the only survey that had been done, one could go into greater detail concerning the kinds of change that were made and what motivated them. It is enlightening just to see the number of changes (123 of them, with each phrase counting as one change) that the respondents felt needed to be made. Incidentally, it is of interest to note that all the respondents wanted to rewrite the entire text completely. In fact, four of them actually did so. These complete revisions, however, are not shown because much in them reflects individual translation style or simply changes they personally prefer. Leaving texts intact and showing only those changes that are necessary for the sake of intelligibility and not mere style enabled us to be more objective in the study.

Because the Batad and Mayoyao lects are so closely related, no radical change in syntax is shown. The further apart lects are in relationship, the greater the divergence that can be expected in the syntax and the grammatical function words.

Informal comparison of grammars is tentative at best. But even so, this informal study of the grammar of the Batad and Mayoyao lects reveals two things. First, there are changes in both lexicon and grammatical function words that need to be made to adapt literature produced in the Batad lect so that it can be understood in Mayoyao. Higher level changes may also be necessary, but such changes are not obvious from an informal study like this one. Second, many of these regularly occurring changes could be handled by computer and the CADA program.

3. Evaluating comprehension and bilingualism

3.1 Comprehension testing versus bilingualism testing

In section 2, it is shown how lexical, phonological, and grammatical similarity shed light on the question of acceptability of written literature between varieties of a language. Another aspect of the process of determining the acceptability of literature is indicated by this question, Do speakers of lect B even understand lect A? It is to answer this question that one tests for comprehension.

The first step in testing for comprehension is for the investigator to ascertain whether he is testing an individual for his comprehension of a given variety of a language or for his/her general bilingual ability. Sankoff (1980) states that it is hard to separate inherent intelligibility due to genetic relationship from bilingualism that is due to contact and learning between two languages that are closely related.

Bilingualism is difficult to define in precise terms (Baetens Beardsmore 1982), but for the purposes of this survey, I define bilingualism as an individual's ability to speak fluently two or more distinct languages. This definition is deliberately simple. Some definitions of bilingualism stress that an individual must control both languages equally; however, such a definition tends to disregard bilingual ability in specific domains of language use (e.g. market Spanish or Ilocano as the language of religion in northern Luzon). In this connection, the United States Foreign Service Institute (FSI) has a bilingual test, summarized in section 3.3.2, that focuses on levels of fluency in specific domains. Incidentally, although a distinction can be made between individual and societal bilingualism, there is no discussion of the latter in this paper.

In comparison with bilingualism, intelligibility can be easily defined, and it can be equally general. Simons (1979:2) defines intelligibility as understanding or comprehension. This contrasts with the definitions found in Voegelin and Harris 1951 and Sankoff 1980, where intelligibility is referred to as linguistic similarity. Casad (1974) uses intelligibility to mean understanding. Thus, in order to avoid confusion, in this paper I use comprehension testing to refer to what Casad calls intelligibility testing. What we seek to discover when doing this kind of testing is the degree to which speakers of two lects understand each other's lects, or languages.

3.2 Comprehension testing

The method of testing for inherent intelligibility between languages by determining lect distance was first developed by Voegelin and Harris (1951), who give the following four ways of determining lect distance: (1) ask a person his opinion about the way lects may have been grouped; (2) count the samenesses between languages; (3) examine the structural status (i.e. the grammatical similarities); and (4) test a person's ability in the languages in question. It is this last method that has been developed into comprehension testing.

When early investigators did this kind of testing, they had subjects translate, into English, texts that had been taped in lects related to the subjects' own lects, and then they scored the subjects' ability to do the translation (Hickerson, Turner, and Hickerson 1952). A later refinement is to adjust subjects' raw scores by raising their hometown scores to 100% while raising their other test scores either proportionally (e.g. raw score x (100 - hometown score) = adjusted score) or equally by a fixed amount (e.g. raw score + (100 - hometown score) = adjusted score) (L. Simons 1977:247).

During the early 1960s, the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Mexico began to modify the method of intelligibility testing in order to be able to determine both potential centers for vernacular literacy programs and the areas over which vernacular literature prepared in such centers could be used (Crawford 1967). It was at this point that intelligibility testing departed from the purpose of classifying languages to that of testing for comprehension.

The most complete work on intelligibility testing is Casad 1974; however, there are other works in which developments in the field of comprehension testing are discussed in detail. For descriptions of how to develop and conduct comprehension tests, the reader is referred to Casad 1974, L. Simons 1977, and G. Simons 1979.

We now turn to the comprehension testing that was done in our survey in Mayoyao. As mentioned above, a survey, which included both lexicostatistical comparison and comprehension testing, was conducted in all of Ifugao Province in 1972 (Walrod 1978). The results of that survey show that the speakers of Mayoyao Ifugao understood Batad Ifugao at the 94% level (unadjusted score). The goal, then, of this second survey in Mayoyao was to determine how well the people of central Mayoyao understand the Batad lect. The decision to do a second survey in Mayoyao, involving testing for comprehension, was made because, although literature in the Batad lect was available, the Mayoyao people were not reading it. For this second survey, it was decided to repeat the comprehension tests that were conducted in 1972, using the same test tapes, but doing the tests with a larger sample (34 respondents rather than 10) over a wider geographical area (the whole central Mayoyao valley rather than only the poblacion).

Briefly, a comprehension test consists of five stages: (1) planning where to test, (2) collecting the test stories, (3) making the test tapes by splicing comprehension questions into the story tapes, (4) actually testing the sample, and (5) analyzing the data to obtain the results.

The test sample included individuals from all age groups. The groupings were: 7-19 years (school age), 20-35 years (young adults), 36-50 years (mature adults), and 51-70+ years (elderly). Whether an individual was male or female was not considered in the sample.

The sites chosen for testing were representative locations in the central valley of Mayoyao Municipality rather than sites among the Bahelna communities (see Figure 1). The rationale for these choices was twofold:

(1) It was felt that the focus of this survey should be on central Mayoyao because, as perceived by Mayoyao speakers, it is the prestige lect in northeastern Ifugao, and it would be the basis for any new literature program.

(2) It was also desired to discover how homogeneous the lect of the central Mayoyao valley--which is a single large valley surrounded on three sides by mountains--really is.

The test sites were the poblacion, Chaya, Mapawoy, Mayoyao Proper and Chumang, and Balangbang.

The test tape in this survey consisted of four parts: (1) an introduction explaining that this survey was being conducted under the auspices of the Philippine government and the Summer Institute of Linguistics and requesting the subject's cooperation, (2) a short story in the Mayoyao lect, with five questions, to familiarize the subject with the testing procedure, (3) a second text, which is a first-person account in the Mayoyao lect, with eleven questions, that was used in the 1972 survey, and (4) a first-person account from Batad, with twelve questions, that was also used in 1972.

The questions used with the texts during the 1972 survey were not kept; therefore, it was necessary, with the assistance of two native speakers of Mayoyao, to form new questions.

The order in which the texts were heard was never varied, even though Casad (1974:24) suggests that the order should be altered occasionally during testing. He says that such changes in order would compensate for both inflated scores later in the testing due to improved skill in taking the test and worse scores later in the testing due to fatigue. He also suggests that the hometown story should follow the introduction, which is the way it turned out in this survey since there were only two test stories, and the one from Mayoyao was the first one after the introduction.

The survey team consisted of three people: two native speakers of Mayoyao Ifugao and myself. One examiner wore one set of headphones and operated the tape recorder; subjects wore the other set of headphones. The other examiner recorded the subjects' responses on the scoresheets. I acted as technician, insuring that correct procedures were followed.

The results of this testing can be seen in Figure 7. These results were calculated for each of the categories of age, education, and barangay (township), as well as for the entire test sample. All scores were adjusted proportionally according to this formula: raw score x (100 - hometown score) = adjusted score.

	Sample size	Text	Percentage of comprehension	
			Raw	Adjusted
Age				
5 - 19	7	MAY	94.6	100
		BAT	95.1	100
20 - 35	13	MAY	94.8	100
		BAT	89.5	94
36 - 50	9	MAY	92.7	100
		BAT	88.5	95
51 - 70+	5	MAY	98.0	100
		BAT	92.8	95
Education				
None	2	MAY	95.0	100
		BAT	95.0	100
Grades 1-3	4	MAY	95.0	100
		BAT	93.5	98
Grades 4-6	13	MAY	94.1	100
		BAT	90.1	96
High school	12	MAY	95.2	100
		BAT	93.5	98
College +	3	MAY	94.0	100
		BAT	77.3	82

Figure 7. Percentage of comprehension by Mayoyao speakers of the Batad lect

Barangay				
Chaya	9	MAY	94.6	100
		BAT	94.1	99
Poblacion	9	MAY	95.7	100
		BAT	92.4	97
Mapawoy	6	MAY	93.6	100
		BAT	91.3	98
Mayoyao Proper and Chumang	10	MAY	94.2	100
		BAT	86.2	92
Totals				
Average (total)	34	MAY	94.3	100
		BAT	91.7	97

Figure 7. Percentage of comprehension by Mayoyao speakers of the Batad lect (continued)

These results show that the young people's (5-19 years) hometown scores were lower than their scores on the Batad story. These scores would suggest that these subjects learned how to take the test as they went along. They scored poorly on the introduction tape, better on the story in their own lect (94.6%), and still better, though not significantly so, on the Batad story (95.1%). When these scores are corrected, the result is a score of 100% on both test tapes. All of these children whom we tested lived in the poblacion area. We tested them because they were our neighbors and therefore accustomed to us. They were eager to be tested, partly due to curiosity about the headphones and partly because of the popcorn reward. This part of the sample and the results for this age group are therefore not considered to be representative.

Those in the oldest test group (51-70+ years) were the quickest in answering the questions; they were the most concise; and they showed the most confidence in answering. They exhibited these qualities for all three of the texts. The Mayoyao story was told by a man who was probably in this age group; therefore, that may be one of the factors that contributed to this age group's high scores (98%) on the hometown text.

The education of the individuals tested did not seem to make any difference in the results, except in the case of students who had finished some or all of college and who scored lowest on the Batad story (77.3%). A larger sample might be expected to raise the average.

With regard to the education of the individuals in the sample, there are two interesting observations. The first is that only 4% of the sample had no education at all. The second--a subjective evaluation by this investigator--is that the proportion of people in each group reflects the overall trends in the central valley. I would estimate that the high school percentage runs a bit lower than what was shown on the questionnaire, which was that approximately 10% of the total population of the central valley of

Mayoyao attend high school. These two observations are significant because the more education members of a speech community have, the greater the overt prestige of that community.

The barangays were fairly equal in their scores regardless of their nearness to or distance from the poblacion, where the 1972 survey was done. Speakers of Central Mayoyao told us that everyone in the central valley speaks the same.

As to the test stories themselves, we came to realize toward the end of the survey that the Batad text was too simple. Since seven of the eleven questions had to be asked after only one sentence of text, it was difficult for us to form meaningful questions. Thus, it was a mistake to use the original 1972 Batad story. A new, more difficult story would have been better. The Mayoyao story, on the other hand, was longer and averaged two to three lines of text per question. Yet, even with a more difficult Batad story, I would predict that comprehension would still be above 90%. I make this prediction even though most of the test subjects had never spoken to anyone from Batad and they had never visited there. Of the Batad lect, many said, 'It sounds a little funny; like us, only some of the words are different, and so is the intonation.'

Thus, the results of this survey show that the speakers of Mayoyao Ifugao understand Batad Ifugao to a high degree. Furthermore, this understanding must be due to the genetic relationship between the two lects rather than to social contact due to geographical nearness.

When we compare our results with those of the 1972 survey, we find that they match well, even though we tested a larger sample over a wider area. The 1972 results show that people from Mayoyao understood the Mayoyao text at 95.4% (raw score) and the Batad text at 93.7%. The results of our survey show that the Mayoyao text was understood at 94.3% and the Batad text, at 91.7% (raw score) and 97.2% (adjusted score). Incidentally, comparison of the results of the two surveys would have been easier if the earlier surveyors had adjusted their scores. The 1972 hometown scores were not available so we could not make adjustments.

For the future, a survey in this area could be improved also by showing the scores for males and females and by including comprehension tests for the major trade languages.

3.3 Bilingualism testing

Although not technically in the realm of this thesis--which focuses on lects with close genetic relationships (cf. section 3.1)--it is often deirable to know how bilingual a group is when determining the acceptability of written vernacular literature. Because of the importance of this issue in many countries, I include a brief summary of two types of testing for bilingualism.

3.3.1 Evaluation of bilingual proficiency by Casad's method

The Casad method of testing for comprehension, described in section 3.2, has been used as a survey tool to determine not only comprehension between speakers of lects of the same language but also comprehension by vernacular groups of languages of wider communication (LWC). For example, Schooling (1981) in his survey in French Polynesia tested for the comprehension of Tahitian and French. Wimbish (1984) tested for the comprehension of Ilocano, the major trade language, in a number of indigenous groups in the north central highlands of Luzon, in the Philippines.

The method for determining the degree of bilingual comprehension follows, for the most part, that described by Casad. One major point of divergence from that method, though, is that in some surveys translated material from the LWC has been used. Some surveyors have chosen to use portions of the New Testament as their story texts and have inserted questions to test for comprehension of that particular piece of literature. The portions chosen are often in both the narrative and hortatory genres. Grimes (1986), however, cautions against the use of translated material because such material might lack naturalness.

A second point of departure from Casad's method, which is necessary when considering bilingualism, is the kind of sample needed. When testing is being done for inherent comprehension, a small sample is sufficient because it is assumed that results from such a sample can be generalized for the entire population because of the underlying genetic relationship. But bilingualism is an individual characteristic. Since the degree of proficiency in another language varies for different members of a community, a larger, more representative sample of the different categories making up the speech community (e.g. educated/uneducated, men/women, and young/middle age/old) is needed. (For a more complete description of this method, see Grimes 1986).

3.3.2 Evaluating bilingual proficiency according to the FSI rating scale

A scale for the rating of bilingual proficiency in a second language has been developed by the United States Foreign Service Institute. This scale has also been used by linguists to rate the bilingual proficiency of indigenous groups (e.g. Grimes 1986 and Quakenbush 1986).

There are six levels of proficiency (0-5) on the FSI scale. Level 0 is no knowledge of the second language, and level 5 is native speaker ability. An individual's rating is obtained by his/her being tested for the skills required at each level, and after the test that individual is rated at the highest level for which he/she satisfied all the requirements. A subject is given a plus (+) score (e.g. 1+, 2+, 3+, or 4+) if he/she can satisfy some of the skills for the next higher level. (See Brewster and Brewster 1976 for a complete description of each level and the skills required.)

Grimes (1986) proposes that direct interviewing of individuals and evaluating them according to the FSI scale is the most accurate method of assessing a community's bilingual proficiency. The interviewer is a native speaker of the second language and is trained to converse with subjects to determine their levels of proficiency in the second language. Averaging the scores thus obtained from a representative sample of all the relevant groups in a speech community yields the degree of bilingual proficiency for that speech community (see Grimes 1986:7-11).

The resulting scores have different significance for groups with different interests. For example, a national government may determine that a level of 2+ in the national language is adequate for their purposes. It has been suggested (Grimes 1985) that a level between 3+ and 4 is the minimum for understanding literature that is difficult and contains cultural insights (e.g. university textbooks or the Bible).

Quakenbush (1986) developed a self-report questionnaire that is based on the FSI scale. His purpose was to determine the level of bilingual proficiency without the necessity of doing direct interviews. To ascertain how valid his method was, he had respondents tested according to the questionnaire first and then by two trained testers using direct interviews. These testers would interview a respondent together but score him/her separately. As it turned out, there seemed to be little correlation between the results obtained by use of the questionnaire and those obtained by direct interviews. Quakenbush therefore concluded that direct interviewing is the preferable method for determining bilingual proficiency.

4. Testing for sociolinguistic factors

4.1 Sociolinguistic surveying

In sections 4 and 5, we change our focus. We turn from consideration of linguistic similarity, as this is highlighted by the question, Can speakers of one lect use literature produced in another lect? to consideration of the subject of acceptability of another lect and literature produced in that other lect, as this is highlighted by the question, Will speakers of one lect use literature produced in another lect?

Sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society (Hudson 1980:1). Sociolinguistic surveying has two goals: (1) to determine language attitudes and (2) to determine, relative to encroachment of another lect or a language of wider communication, the maintenance of, or shift in, the language of a speech community.

Much has been written regarding language attitudes and language maintenance, but the emphasis has been, for the most part, on the interrelationship between two distinct languages rather than between lects of a language. In this section, we seek to relate literature to the interrelationships between closely related lects, often in rural settings, and to the way these lects relate to a LWC.

4.2 Determining language attitudes

Attitudes are learned, enduring, and positively related to overt behavior (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970:139). Most researchers agree with these three generalizations, but despite this agreement, there are two differing theoretical viewpoints than underlie the study of attitudes.

One viewpoint is that of the behaviorists. In this view, an attitude is regarded as a response to a social situation. Attitudes are thus directly observable; however, contrary to the mentalist view, such acts cannot be used to predict behavior. The implication of this view with regard to research is that, because attitudes, the object of study, are directly observable, they are more easily studied than they are under the mentalist view.

The other viewpoint is that of the mentalists. In this view, an attitude is regarded as a state of readiness; that is, it is an intervening variable between a stimulus (e.g. a social situation) affecting a person and that person's response (e.g. a speech act) (Fasold 1984:147). Attitudes are not directly observable; therefore, they must be inferred from a respondent's report of his own introspection or from his overt behavior, for example, his use of language. The mentalist will use known attitudes to predict behavior. Research, however, based on this view must overcome the methodological obstacle of studying something that cannot be seen. But still, most research to date on attitudes toward language has been on the theoretical basis of the mentalist viewpoint. Also, all the following discussion is from the mentalist school.

Social psychologists have studied attitudes to determine the strategy an individual follows in dealing with his society and in choosing the language he will use. One prominent theory in this area is Giles's (Giles, et al. 1977), which is called the theory of accommodation. In this theory, an individual uses the variety of language that suits the need of the person he is speaking to. This often leads to convergence (i.e. using the language of the listener).

Attitudes have also been investigated by anthropologists in their research to determine cultural values. By using domain analysis, they have sought to predict the language an individual will choose to use in a given instance. The method of domain analysis has also been used by sociologists. In his study of this method, Greenfield (1972) names three components the interaction of which helps to predict which language an individual will choose in a given domain. The three components are: persons, called interlocutors; places, or context; and topic. Of these three, the interlocutor is weighted more heavily than the other two.

With regard to domains, language use has been divided by Parasher (1980) into the following seven domains: family, friendship, neighborhood, transaction, education, government, and employment. To these, I would add an eighth, namely, religion. By determining what language an individual will choose in a given domain, it is possible to deduce his attitude toward, for example, his own language, a lingua franca, or the national language. This is done--and it works well--in the context of determining the relationship between distinct languages. This method, however, is not as well suited for discovering language use and attitudes toward language in the context of closely related lects, since speakers of one lect rarely use one of the others. They use their own lect rather than another because it is adequate for their purposes of communication.

There are five main techniques of research into language attitudes, and each of these varies from the others in degree of its directness. In the most direct techniques, information is obtained by asking a respondent directly for his opinions about different lects or languages. In the indirect techniques, on the other hand, the same information is obtained without the respondent's knowing what the researcher desires to find out. The two direct methods are questionnaires and interviews. The former has been used widely, but it is not appropriate for research among speech communities that are pre- or semiliterate--which is the focus of this paper--because the ability to read and write is required.

Interviews are used in consulting selected, knowledgeable individuals, such as anthropologists, government officials, scholars, missionaries, or community leaders, or in learning the mind of the 'man on the street'. (Interviewing the man on the street is discussed in more detail in section 4.4.2.)

An example of indirect interviewing is described by Labov (1972:49-50). In order to obtain casual, anonymous speech events, he interviewed New York department store employees in a systematic way. His purpose was to obtain examples of the employees' casual and emphatic use of the variable (r) without their knowing that they were even being interviewed. When the interviewing was completed, percentages were calculated for the complete and partial use of (r). The principles to note here are: (1) the variable to be focused on must be isolated, and (2) the questions and the situations for observation of, or testing for, the variable must be thought out ahead of time.

The three indirect techniques are: observation, matched guise, and consulting published sources (Fasold 1984:149-52). Of these three, the classical matched guise test is least suited to determining the language attitudes of speakers of closely related lects and to short-term surveys. This is because of the involved procedures used in developing test tapes and because of the difficulty in finding a speaker who controls both lects (Walker 1982:17). Nevertheless, modifications of the original matched guise technique have been used in studies of similar lects (see Lambert, Giles, and Picard 1975).

With regard to consulting published sources, since most lects of smaller language groups do not have much published about them, this technique is not likely to be very productive. Still, there is usually some published information--even on the smallest, most remote language groups--to be read, and these sources should be consulted for all they can yield.

Thus, the observation method remains as the best one for determining the language attitudes of people who speak closely related lects. This technique is discussed in section 4.4.1.)

4.3 Determining language maintenance and language shift

Language maintenance and language shift are concerned with the degree of stability of, or change in, the patterns of language usage in populations that use, or could use, more than one speech variety for intragroup or for intergroup purposes (Fishman 1972b:109). Language shift occurs when a speech community switches from using their first language (L1) for certain domains to using a second language (L2) for those domains (e.g. the Mayoyao people's using Ilocano (L2) instead of their own language (L1) as the language of religion). Bilingualism is a prerequisite for shift, although many bilingual communities are stable (e.g. the Old Order Amish and the Mennonites). The motivations for shifting to L2, which may be a lingua franca or the national language, are migration of L2 speakers into the area of L1, urbanization, prestige, and pressure from government or school officials. Urban communities are more susceptible to shift due to contact with L2 speakers. Communities that maintain their linguistic distinctiveness in the face of L2 pressure are usually rural, isolated or close-knit communities (Milroy 1980). It is not likely that the speakers of a minority language will shift toward a closely related lect instead of a LWC for reasons of prestige. A case in point is the minority languages of northern Luzon in the Philippines. When these speakers shift to an L2, it is usually to Ilocano, the lingua franca, rather than to a neighboring lect. The generalizations that urban communities are susceptible to shift and that L1 speakers tend to shift to L2, rather than L2 speakers shifting to L1, have both been challenged by Fishman (1972b).

In the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977), the following three criteria are used in evaluating language maintenance or shift:

(1) Status of the language group. Does the language have high or low prestige within and outside the group?

(2) Demography of the language group. How many speakers are there? What is their distribution, e.g. dense or spread out? Is their number increasing?

(3) Institutional support. Is the language represented and used in the schools, government, mass media, and industry?

The theory of ethnolinguistic vitality is most concerned with the longevity of a language, and questions based on these three criteria are included in sociolinguistic surveys that seek to determine the potential usage of literature by speakers of a particular language. Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981) have developed a questionnaire for use in investigating a language's vitality.

Those who do surveys for the purpose of determining whether maintenance or shift is occurring face a problem. This problem is how to obtain information about changing patterns of language use--from which long-term generalizations are made--while doing a one-time, synchronic survey (Lieberson 1980:12). (Very few surveys are done and then replicated after a five- or ten-year interval to obtain information about changes that may have occurred in a language's patterns in the interim.) Such information may be obtained by comparing linguistic repertoire and language attitudes and by comparing the attitudes of older individuals with those of younger individuals.

One method for collecting linguistic repertoire and information about language attitudes is to ask older individuals directly about their language ability--both past and present--and about their past and present patterns of language use. Another method is to ask a cross section of individuals according to age about their present ability and patterns of use. One problem is that the resulting data may not be completely reliable due to individual respondents' faulty memory. If patterns of language use and ability have changed, it may be inferred that shift is occurring. Caution is needed, however, in making generalizations from the resulting data because it is difficult to know which changes involve the individual interviewed and which, due to historical factors, involve the whole community. Changes that are individual can be partially corrected for by obtaining a larger sample, but even then, the effect of systematic faulty memory may not be wholly eliminated.

4.4 Determining the sociolinguistic situation in Mayoyao, Ifugao

The above discussions about language attitudes and language maintenance or shift include some bases for the survey methodologies that were used to determine the language preferences of the Mayoyao people and the viability of their lect. Both interviewing and observation were used in order that each would be a check and a balance on the other and that the resulting generalizations in turn would be valid.

4.4.1 The observation method

Observation is the most indirect method of obtaining sociolinguistic data. It can also be the most natural method. Conversely, it is also the most subjective, which means that the quality of the data is dependent on the skill of the investigator. Thus, to use observation alone tends to result in gaps in the data. For that reason, it was used in this survey in conjunction with interviews. This is illustrated by Labov (1972:12), who tells of the use of observation in his investigation of the casual use of the diphthongs (ay) and (aw) on the island of Martha's Vineyard. In this case, observation was a check on the tape-recorded, formal interviews that had systematically focused on these variables. Despite its shortcomings, participant-observation over a period of days, weeks, or months can yield valuable data that might not be obtainable by any other method.

The phenomenon of the observer's paradox (Labov 1972) is something an investigator must keep in mind when using the observation, or any other, method. Briefly, this paradox exists when a respondent changes his/her behavior because of the mere presence of the investigator. For instance, an individual or a group may try to speak a more prestigious form of their language; they may switch to another language; or they may engage in behavior that they think the investigator wants to see. One way, though, such behavior may be controlled is to train a local speaker to observe language use and attitudes. Another strategy is for the observer to have resided in the area for a long enough time to be considered an 'inside-outsider'. It is this latter strategy that was used in the Mayoyao situation, as will be described below.

By their very nature as psychological states, attitudes cannot be observed directly. Rather, they must be inferred from behavior, such as, for example, language use. The closest an investigator may probably come to observing an attitude is to hear the unsolicited, spoken opinion of an individual--and such an expression is a rare occurrence. The signs to look for when seeking to determine if a language is shifting or is being maintained are relexification (Hill and Hill 1977) and those domains of language use where a LWC may be making inroads.

Due to the bulkiness of data that may be obtained by observation (e.g. anecdotes and prose statements) and the frequently unpredictable nature and open-ended structure of observations, a notebook or journal that is kept and consulted faithfully is the best device to date for collecting such data. A journal can be systematized by being divided into sections, each of which is labeled with a domain of language use (e.g. the seven domains cited in sec. 4.2), and in each section pertinent observations can be entered. From such entries one can then do quantitive analysis by noting the number of occurrences in each domain (e.g. the number of times people used language A in a town meeting as compared with the numbr of times they used language B). (The observations noted in section 4.4.3 were made during our residence in Mayoyao for fourteen months in 1984 and 1985.)

4.4.2 The interview method

The interview method is one in which direct questioning is employed. Again, one must keep in mind, as with all direct questioning, that respondents tend to give answers they think an investigator wants to hear, or to speak of the ideal rather than the real situation.

For interviews, questions of the following kinds can be framed:

(1) Yes/no, e.g. do you ... ?

(2) Scaling, e.g. how well do you ... ?

(3) Ranking, e.g. which is better ... ?

(4) Open-ended, e.g. what do you ... ?

Yes/no questions are the easiest to score and calculate, but they limit the input of the respondent. On the other hand, open-ended questions give respondents more latitude, but this, understandably, can result in large amounts of data that can be bulky, as well as hard to score. A common technique is to use open-ended questions during a pilot study in order to determine the most common answers, and then to use closed questions, based on the answers to the open-ended questions, for the widespread sample. (For a fuller discussion of designing and carrying out sociolinguistic surveys in general and interview surveys in particular, see Callister 1977.)

The interviews used in this survey involved the use of prepared questions with a representative sample of the speech community. This was somewhat similar to a questionnaire method that had been adapted for use with a culture having many pre- and semiliterates. Incidentally, no interviews were conducted with community leaders in the Mayoyao survey, but such interviews should be included in any future survey.

The interview questionnaire developed for use in the Mayoyao survey was intended to determine the following: (1) the attitudes of the Mayoyao people toward their lect, (2) language use in those domains that had not been observed, and (3) the attitude of the Mayoyao people toward the Batad lect and the literature, including the New Testament, which had been translated into that lect.

As to how the interviews were conducted, the questions used were translated from English into the Mayoyao lect. After the respondents had completed the taped comprehension test, they were interviewed. The interviewer was a native speaker of Mayoyao and also fluent in Tagalog, Ilocano, and English. All the questioning and all the answers, as well as all the discussion, were in the Mayoyao lect. The responses were written rather than tape-recorded.

In the questionnaire, the first ten questions were for the purpose of screening. The second set of questions (11-16) pertained to language use, focusing on situations that had not been observed. The final set of questions (17-31) dealt with language attitudes. The purpose of the last set of questions was to elicit the respondents' opinions about (1) the similarity or dissimilarity of the Mayoyao and Batad lects (17-19), (2) the strength of the Mayoyao lect (20-22), (3) the language of religion (23-25), and (4) literacy in the vernacular and vernacular Scriptures (26-31). (See Appendix C for the questions, in English, that were used in the Mayoyao survey.)

The results of the interviews are shown in Figure 8. These results are correlated in section 4.4.4 with those that had been obtained by direct observation.

Screening

Total sample: 25 people
Age: between 22 and 70+ years
Sex: male, 15; female, 10
Birthplace: 100% in Mayoyao Municipality
Mother's birthplace: 100% in Mayoyao Municipality
Father's birthplace: 96% in Mayoyao Municipality
Language ability: Mayoyao, 100%; Ilocano, 36%; English, 20%; and Tagalog, 12%
N = the number of respondents for that particular question

Figure 8. Results of the interviews

Language use

11. Language used in a barangay meeting (N = 24)	MAY3	96%
	ILO	4%
12. Language used in prayer when alone (N = 25)	MAY	64%
	ILO	44%
	ENG	20%
13. Language used with one's children (N = 25)	MAY	96%
	ENG	4%
14. Language used with friends at work (N = 25)	MAY	92%
	ENG	12%
	ILO	8%
15. What do you read? (N = 25)	Bible	64%
	books	20%
	magazines	24%
	newspaper	16%
	nothing	16%
16. In what language? (N = 25)	ILO	56%
	ENG	52%
	PIL	4%

Language attitudes

17. Do people from Batad speak the same as do people from Mayoyao? (N = 23)	No	96%
	Yes	4%
18. What are the differences? (N = 20)	Speak differently	60%
	Different words	20%
	Intonation	10%
	Pronunciation	5%
	Can't understand everything	5%
19. Have you ever spoken to someone from Batad? (N = 22)	No	63%
	Yes	37%
20. What language do you like the best? (N = 24)	MAY	92%
	ILO	4%
	All	4%
Why? (N = 12)	It's my language (i.e. Mayoyao)	66%
	I understand it	34%

Figure 8. Results of the interviews (continued)

21. Where is the best Mayoyao spoken? (N = 21)	Mayoyao Central	77%
	Mayoyao Proper	14%
	Poblacion	9%
Why? (N = 14)	All barrios are the same	44%
	____ is my barrio	12%
22. What language will your grandchildren speak most when they are grown? (N = 25)	MAY	96%
	PIL	12%
	ILO	8%
	ENG	8%
Why will they speak that language? (N = 25)	Mayoyao is their first language	72%
	Mayoyao is our language	20%
	Due to their education	12%
	They have moved to that area	4%
23. What language would you like to see used in church? (N = 25)	MAY	88%
	ILO	28%
	ENG	8%
Why? (N = 20)	Better understanding if Mayoyao	50%
	Illiterates can understand if Mayoyao	40%
	I understand all the languages	10%
24. What language is used in your church? (N = 25)	ILO	84%
	MAY	56%
	ENG	44%
25. What church do you attend? (N = 25)	Pentecostal	52%
	Roman Catholic	32%
	Spiritista	16%
	UCCP	8%
	Jehovah's Witnesses	4%
26. Have you ever seen this Bible (the Batad New Testament) before? (N = 25)	No	68%
	Yes	32%
27. Have you ever heard it read? (N = 6)	Yes	83%
	No	17%
28. Have you ever read it? (N = 5)	Yes	80%
	No	20%

Figure 8. Results of the interviews (continued)

29. If there were a class to teach you to read this Bible, would you want to attend? (N = 20)	Yes	44%
	No	36%
Why? (N = 17)	Yes, to learn their language	35%
	Yes, but I do not understand it all	12%
	Yes, to learn what God's Word is	12%
	No, it's not ours	29%
	No, I don't understand it	12%
30. Would you like to learn to read and write Mayoyao? (N = 24)	Yes	96%
	No	4%
Why? (N = 22)	For self-improvement	32%
	I understand it	32%
	It's my language	26%
	To preserve our language	5%
	No, I'm blind	5%
31. Would you like the Bible to be written in Mayoyao? (N = 23)	Yes	100%
	No	0%
Why? (N = 23)	It would be easy to understand	48%
	So illiterates can understand it	52%
	It would be clear	35%
	No need for explanations	30%
	All could read it	17%
	It would preserve our culture	4%

Figure 8. Results of the interviews (continued)

4.4.3 Correlating the results from observation with those from interviews

What participant-observers report is difficult to quantify (Walker 1982). One reason is that the analyses are often reports in prose of language attitudes that have been inferred from observed behavior. Similarly, it is difficult to quantify interviews that have included open-ended questions. In Figure 8 are shown the results of the interviews as those results have been quantified. Now in this section, in an effort to counteract any weaknesses in reporting the data obtained, we discuss together the results of both observations and the interviews. It is hoped that this gives a fuller picture of the linguistic situation in the Mayoyao area. Use of observation as a means of check and balance on the interviews shows that obsevations do indeed give insights; they do give a picture of the actual situation that is more complete than can be gained from bare percentages alone; and they do serve to confirm generalizations and to reveal discrepancies.

The percentages for some questions add up to more than 100%. This is because some respondents gave more than one answer to a given question. In addition, some questions were not asked of all respondents due to the regularity of the answers those questions had received (e.g. question 21). Also, not all the respondents knew how to answer certain questions (e.g. questions 17 and 31). Thus, the percentages reflect the responses of those respondnts who did answer the questions. Questions 17 and 28 were asked only if the answer to question 26 was affirmative.

Screening

The purposes of the questions in this group were to uncover any migration patterns there may be (cf. criterion 2 in Giles's theory in section 4.3) and to show the language ability of the respondents.

The answers to the questions asking the birthplaces of the parents show that of all the parents only one father was not born in Mayoyao Municipality. What is not shown, though, is that all but two parents, namely, that father and a mother, were born in central Mayoyao. This was confirmed by observation at weddings and other social functions. The Ifugao of Mayoyao have not intermarried with those of the dominant lowland cultures to any great extent. We observed only four spouses that were not Ifugao.

A change, however, is occurring in the marriage patterns of the 18-25 year age group. Those in this group are mostly college students and young, college-educated professionals who have lived outside the municipality for some time and, as a result, have found their spouses where they have been employed or educated. However, this group comprises only a small percentage of the total population.

Both interviews and observation show that, demographically, the Mayoyao lect is stable and the population is increasing due to stable marriage patterns and lack of significant outward migration to urban areas. The geographic isolation of the valley (most people move from the valley; few outsiders move into it) and the fact that the Mayoyao Ifugao are bound culturally to the land account for the population's being densely concentrated within the central valley rather than being spread over a wider area.

Mayoyao was the first language of all the respondents. Observation also showed that all children learn Mayoyao first, even in families where one of the parents is a nonnative. Of the other languages, namely, Ilocano, Tagalog, and English, only individuals that attend high school and college attain any fluency in the latter two. The relatively high number of those who know Tagalog and English decreases the further one travels away from the poblacion. Ilocano is the language of the dominant lowland culture, and those who travel to the lowlands or attend school there learn that language. Ilocano is not a language that is taught in school; rather it is one that is just 'picked up'. Thus, the information obtained from both the screening portion of the interviews and from observation tends to support the view that the Mayoyao lect is maintaining itself rather than that the Mayoyao people are shifting to another lect or to Ilocano.

Language use

The questions in this section, except for questions 13 and 14, were intended to obtain data that had not been observed. In this survey, it was found that the Mayoyao lect is the language of choice for personal and intimate communication with an interlocutor who is also a Mayoyao speaker, even though both participants may know the same second language. The Mayoyao lect meets all the needs of both sentimental and instrumental functions in the municipality.

With regard to question 11, there is a discrepancy between the reported use of Mayoyao in barangay meetings (96%) and what was actually observed. One reason for the difference may be because the question was not specific enough and respondents did not know whether a local barrio meeting was intended or a municipality-wide barangay council meeting was meant. It was observed that in barangay council meetings both the Mayoyao lect (60%) and English (40%) were used. I know that the comprehension of English by most elected officials is low. Also, the code switching into English that does occur seems to be motivated by the desire to make a point or to give added authority to the message (cf. Gumperz 1977).

Reading material in the Mayoyao area is in either Ilocano or English. The educated prefer the former, especially the Ilocano translation of the Bible, but they could use either language. Ilocano literature is preferred by those who have completed up to grade 6 in school.

In regard to the seven domains Parasher cites (see sec. 4.2), Mayoyao is the choice in the home, friendship (except for jesting and cliches), neighborhood, transactions with local people, and employment within the municipality. English is the choice for formal governmental functions. In education three languages are used. Two of these, namely, English and Tagalog, are official languages. Teachers who are from Mayoyao, though, often use the vernacular.

Language attitudes

Our motivation for studying language attitudes in Mayoyao was twofold: (1) to determine the attitude of the Mayoyao people toward the Batad lect, and (2) to determine the attitude of the Mayoyao people toward their own lect.

The attitudes and opinions expressed about the Batad lect in the interviews were based in part on the taped comprehension test completed just prior to the interview and in part on hearsay opinions. The latter seemed to be the stronger in that only 32% of the respondents reported having spoken to a Batad person. They had often told us, 'Oh, the people of

Batad only have a /b/ and a /d/ sound. They don't have our [pp] or our [ch].' However, when a phonology sketch of Mayoyao was done and then compared with that of the Batad lect, it could be seen that the two lects did have analogous sets of allophones (see section 2.2). This led to discussion of how an alphabet is formed. We explained to the community leaders that the Batad lect was written with a phonemic orthography. They then understood why the Batad lect 'doesn't look like it sounds', which became their major complaint against that orthography. 'It should be spelled as it sounds' was their unanimous decision, and this was the first reason why the Mayoyao people would not use the Batad literature. Mayoyao has a long history of literacy in English and Pilipino, and its speakers unequivocally rejected the phonemic orthography developed for use in the Batad lect. The outcome of this was that a new orthography representing more of the allophonic distinctions was developed for use in Mayoyao.

The language to which the Mayoyao people are sentimentally attached (see question 20) is the Mayoyao lect; it is the language they like the best. The Mayoyao lect is vital, according to the responses to questions 20 and 21, which correlates well with what had been observed. All the respondents felt that the Mayoyao lect would continue to be used by succeeding generations.

The Mayoyao lect of the central valley has the highest prestige in the municipality as a whole and possibly in all of eastern Ifugao, according to individuals in the municipality. This is illustrated by this comment by a high government official, 'We need a translation in the Mayoyao lect because our language and culture are somewhat different from others in Ifugao. We don't understand the Batad translation completely. Also, the Batad are a small group in Ifugao, and the translation has limited acceptability. A translation done in our lect would serve all of Mayoyao Municipality and Aguinaldo Municipality. Its acceptability would cover a much wider area.' Therein lies the second reason for the disregard for the Batad literature: the Mayoyao lect is perceived to be spoken in a larger area by more people and to be higher in prestige.

As mentioned previously, I would add an eighth domain to Pasasher's seven, namely, religion. One reason for this is what was observed and reported during the interviews. The language in the churches of the working class is Ilocano, and in the churches of the professionals it is English. Most respondents (88%), however, said that they would like to see Mayoyao used more in the churches. Thus, it would seem that in the religious domain the answer to question 23 was motivated by the covert prestige the Mayoyao lect has while Ilocano and English are the languages that have the overt prestige.

In the final questions (29-31), the respondents' opinions were asked directly. Question 29 was not worded particularly well, and it would be left out or reworded in any future survey. On questions 30 and 31, the high percentages may be due to the respondents' answering in the way they perceived the interviewer wanted them to. Observation, however, does give evidence that the Mayoyao people, for reasons of both clarity and acceptance by the people, would be keen to have literature in the vernacular.

5. Testing specialized lexical categores

5.1 Specialized lexical categories

In section 4, we discuss in general terms the subject of testing for sociolinguistic factors that relate to the acceptability of a given lect and, by extension, of the speakers of that lect. In this section, that focus is narrowed to the acceptability of written literature that has been, or will be, produced in that lect. Yet, this topic is still too broad and must be narrowed still further.

In section 2.1, the focus is on the lexicostatistic comparison of closely related lects. The basis of such comparison is the core of a language's basic vocabulary, which is assumed to be more resistant to change than are other parts of the lexicon. This core vocabulary is also assumed to be evenly distributed throughout the language regardless of the topic, persons involved, or setting.

In this section, a survey technique is proposed in which a portion of a language's lexicon, which consists of specialized lexical categories, is investigated for acceptability. Further, whether the lexemes in these specialized categories are accepted or rejected can serve as a general indication of whether the literature in which those lexical categories are used is accepted or not.

The basic assumption that underlies this proposed method is that there are certain lexemes in the lexicon, or vocabulary, of a language that are more prominent, or central, than are other lexemes. Cultures, for instance, have specific sets of vocabulary, or registers (Opitz 1983), for different areas of activity, such as agriculture, natural sciences, music, geography, religion, genealogy, and medicine. An example of this in English might be the recent advent of computerese, a specialized and technical jargon. Lexicostatistics, which is nonspecific in its approach, can not be used to investigate this important area.

Leech (1974:14) describes seven types of meaning, two or which he calls affective and connotative. Affective meaning, he says, deals with the emotive value of communication, while connotative meaning is 'the communicative value an expression has by virtue of what it refers to, over and above its purely conceptual (literal) content'. Lexemes that are drawn from such specialized lexical categories as patriotism (e.g. freedom and liberty), politics (e.g. conservative or liberal), or economic theory (e.g. communism and capitalism) have one or both of these types of meaning attached to them. The association of specific connotative and affective meanings with a lexeme heightens it prominence and importance in a culture. Therefore, the differences in the meanings (i.e. denotative, connotative, and affective) of some lexemes in a lexicon have greater implications with respect to acceptability than do other lexemes.

It is a fact that languages change. Depending on the social forces involved, a culture that comes into increased contact with a neighboring or outside culture will either accelerate in its rate of change or resist change. An example of resistance is the following. On the island of

Martha's Vineyard, high centralization of (ay) and (aw), which contrasts with the more common New England usage, is directly correlated with strong resistance to the incursions of the 'summer people' who were buying up the island (Labov 1972:28). Another example is the Tewa of New Mexico, who resisted linguistic acculturation toward Spanish, because of the oppressive and intolerant attitudes of Franciscan priests toward the Tewa language and culture during the fifteenth century. As a result, Tewa, having acquired only a few loanwords, has remained distinct from Spanish (Dozier 1964).

In contrast, if an encroaching culture does not project itself as a threat to a minority culture and shows a permissive attitude toward linguistic acculturation, the minority culture will often acculturate, culturally and linguistically, rather rapidly. The Yaqui of Sonora and Arizona have a history of contact with sympathetic and tolerant Jesuit priests, dating from the early fifteenth century. The Jesuits learned the Yaqui language and did not attempt to suppress native ceremonies. In the course of time, Yaqui has incorporated a large percentage of Spanish loanwords (up to 65% in the categories of domestic utensils, social organization, and rituals)--the result probably of contact with tolerant Spaniards. Spanish has also been an influence in changes in Yaqui phonology, morphology, and syntax (Dozier 1964:511).

In terms of changes in the lexicon of a variety, Zgusta (1971:178) says that 'three terms connected with the historical study of the lexicon are of an outstanding importance for the lexicographer, viz. the archaism, the obsolete word and the neologism.' A neologism is a new lexeme that has developed to compensate for a deficiency. Such development is by (1) direct transfer from a foreign language (i.e. by direct borrowing or by assimilating loanwords) and (2) loan translation, or the direct, nearly literal translation of a new concept from another language (e.g. the Russian for platypus is babyzvyndz < babyz 'duck' + fyndz 'nose'). Lexemes that are borrowed by a variety to fill gaps in its lexicon may be adapted morphologically and phonologically, to varying degrees, or they may retain the form they had in their original language. These two mechanisms for borrowing new words are most often applied by speech communities that have had a history of positive contact with another culture. In contrast, speech communities whose history of contact with another culture has been negative will either (1) coin new words or phrases that are mainly descriptive of the introduced item or concept or (2) extend the meaning of existing words to cover the new cultural acquisitions (Dozier 1964:512).

The concern of the present study is to discover the number of loanwords in a specialized lexical category and attempt to explain why they were adopted into the lexicon.

5.2 A comparison of the Mayoyao and Batad lects with respect to the specialized lexical category of religious terminology

Although the focus of this study is on the category of religious terminology, it is of course true that a similar comparative study could be made of any other such category (e.g. health care or agriculture) in a language's lexicon.

Before comparing the religious terms of these two lects and discussing the acceptability of those terms, one must obtain some understanding of both the history of the contact the two lects have had with influencing cultures and the strategies the two lects have followed with regard to any innovative lexical categories. (See the Tewa and Yaqui examples referred to in section 5.1 for illustrations of such strategies.)

With regard to Mayoyao and Batad in Ifugao in the Philippines, the coming of the Spanish and the Americans into the remote mountains of northern Luzon brought new ideas and information into what was until that time the orderly world of the Ifugao. With these new ideas and objects came the task of incorporating them into the lexicon of their language. Some speech communities that experienced early contact with these new cultures were making changes in their lexicons. At the same time, there were other groups that, due to their isolation, had little or no contact with the outside world, and as a result their lexicons were being affected very little, if at all.

Such is the description of the histories of Mayoyao on one hand and of Batad on the other. Mayoyao, with its large central valley, which is easily seen from numerous mountains, has had a long history of contact and interaction with dominant cultures, which have included the Spanish, the Americans, the Japanese, and the Ilocanos. The opposite is the history of Batad, which, because of its remote, hidden location, did not have the outside contacts that Mayoyao did. Batad is a natural amphitheater-like pocket--with rice terraces appearing as 'seats' up the mountainsides--that is rimmed on three sides by high mountains.

Before the introduction of Christianity by foreign missionaries, the cultures of both of these places shared identical, or analogous, lexemes in the specialized genre of traditional religion. It was with the coming of the missionaries that the two cultures began to diverge. In Mayoyao, due to extensive contact with, and pressure from, Christian missions from the early 1900s and the education provided by those missions, the Mayoyao lect followed the strategy of altering its specialized religious terminology by borrowing directly from the dominant language. Espirito Santo 'Holy Spirit', santo 'saint', masias 'messiah', and Apo Dios 'God' are examples of such borrowing. Generally, these missions did not study the local culture in order to try to find equivalents that might exist in its traditional religious terminology.

On the other hand, Christianity did not begin making an inroad into Batad until the 1950s. The strategy of the missionaries who settled there during those years was first to try to find cultural equivalents for religious terms. Examples of this approach are Na'abuniyanan an Lennawa 'spirit from heaven' for Holy Spirit, tagun Apo Dios 'people of God' for saint, and Alin pento' Apo Dios an munpapto' hinan taku 'king from God who cares for people' for messiah. After following that approach, they resorted to terms that had been borrowed from the Spanish culture, as illustrated by Apo Dios 'God', anghel 'angel', and diyablu 'devil'.

The first strategy followed in Batad resulted in the extension of the meanings of some vernacular terms. For example, the term lennawa, which literally means the spirit of an animal or a human being, was extended by adding the semantic component of supernatural being, as for the Holy Spirit and for bad spirits, or demons. It was through education that these new, extended meanings and the borrowed terms were adopted into the lexical category of religious terminology of the Batad lect.

Thus, for both Mayoyao and Batad, development of religious terminology followed a more or less identical road until the early half of this century; then, at that time the road divided and the two different strategies developed. These two lects did not come into contact, or conflict, until the 1960s and the 1970s, when a body of literature was produced in the Batad lect, with its specialized lexical categories. As discussed in section 1.1, it was thought that the literature produced for use in Batad would also serve the Mayoyao community as well.

Now we turn to the subject of acceptability in Mayoyao of key Batad religious terms. This study was done with the cooperation of four native speakers of the Mayoyao lect. They were all males ranging in age from 21 to 45 years, with educational backgrounds ranging from grade school through college.

After the prominent religious terms in the Batad New Testament had been noted, the four men and I discussed the English term in question in light of its general meaning and specific semantic components. Then, the Batad equivalent of the term was discussed with respect to (1) its meaning, if known, (2) its semantic components, and (3) its possible acceptance in the central Mayoyao area. Decisions regarding acceptance or rejection were made by consensus of the four native speakers of the Mayoyao lect. If a term was not acceptable, a possible Mayoyao equivalent was sought. The results of this study of religious terms are tabulated below.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
A. Spiritual beings		
1. God	Apo Dios (Mt 12:17)	Apo Dios/Aphunijan or Namajang

Reason: The term Apo Dios is commonly used in Mayoyao, although the other two terms are possible cultural equivalents. These equivalents, however, would need to be checked with a larger sample from a wider area.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
2. angel	anghel (Acts 5:19)	anghel or angheles
3. Lord	Apo tu'u 'our leader' (Mt 12:17)	Apo ta'o
4. Devil	Diyablu (Mt 4:1)	Satanas

Reason: Satanas is preferred because Diyablu can mean either 'bad' or 'Devil'. Satanas is commonly used in Mayoyao.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
5. demon/ evil spirit	nappuhin lennawa 'bad spirit'	dimonyo/penachang

Reason: Lennawa, in Mayoyao, can refer only to the spirit/soul of a human being or animal; never to a supernatural being. Penachang is a possible cultural equivalent, while dimonyo is a loanward from Spanish demoñio via Ilocano.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
6. Holy Spirit	Na'abuniyanan an Lennawa 'spirit from heaven' (Rom 8:15)	Espirito Santo, Nasantuan Espirito, or Espirito Apo Dios

Reason: Same as 'demon' above. There is a possible cultural equivalent, but more testing would need to be done. The options above are loanwords, with Espirito Santo being the one most commonly used.

B. Titles for Jesus

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
1. Lord	Apo tu'u 'our leader' (Acts 9:2)	Apo ta'o
2. Jesus	Jesus (Mk 9:14)	Jesus
3. Christ	Kristu (Jn 1:15)	Kristu
4. Messiah	Alin pento' Apo Dios an munpapto' hinan taku 'king of God who cares for people' (Jn 1:41)	Masias + an explanatory phrase

Reason: This is the personal preference of those who helped with this study. The Batad term is linguistically correct; yet they still did not want to use it--although that could change. Some felt that the phrase was too cumbersome, even though they wanted to use a phrase to explain Masias, as is done in the Ilocano New Testament.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
5. Son of God	Imbaluy Apo Dios 'child of God' (Mt 14:33)	Emphalay Apo Dios
6. Son of Man	Nitulang hitun Tatagu 'related to man' (Mt 11:19)	Emphalay chi Tataku

Reason: Nitulang, in Mayoyao, means 'to be related to'. It was not certain what the Batad equivalent means. This term needs to be investigated more carefully before a final decision is made. It is a term that is theologically difficult, and our treatment of it was not thorough enough.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
7. Son of David	Ap'apun David 'descendant of David' (Mt 1:1)	Ap'apun David

C. Christian groups

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
1. believer	kimmulug/nangunud 'believe/follow' (Acts 9:21)	namati/nangunud

Reason: Kimmulug is not well known or used in Mayoyao. Nangunud means to follow someone, literally, but it could, by extension, mean to follow someone's teachings.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
2. disciple	kimmulug/himmolot (Acts 9:21)	immunud/himmolot

Reason: For kimmulug, see 'believer'. Himmolot, again, has the denotation of following someone physically, but it is still a possibility.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
3. saint	tagun Apo Dios 'person of God' (Eph 4:30)	santo

Reason: Takun Apo Dios was an acceptable term, but the respondents still preferred santo.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
4. church	a'amungan di mangunud ay Apo Dios 'gathering of those who follow God' or himba'an 'church' (Rev 3:7; Rom 16:14)	ponmehan/tataku an Phalay Apo Dios 'house of God'

Reason: Ponmehan is the Mayoyao word commonly used for the actual building. It is possible that the Church Universal would be Tataku Apo Dios. Himba'an is the Ilocano word simbaan phonologically leveled for Mayoyao.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
D. Christian positions of leadership		
1. apostle	apostoles (1 Cor 15:19)	apostoles
2. prophet	pun'alunon Apo Dios (Jn 7:52)	munanap/kun pon'anapon Apo Dios

Reason: There was much discussion of the semantic components of 'prophet' in Mayoyao, Batad, and English. Though there is no specific reason why they reject the Batad equivalent, the respondents just did not feel comfortable using it. Alunon is the root of the equivalents for both 'prophet' and 'priest', and the meaning of the root is a person functioning as a go-between/arbitrator. Munanap is the Mayoyao word for 'prophet'.

3. overseer	mun'endog (Lk 8:3)	mun'enchog

Reason: The Batad term is acceptable if the main function is caring for the needs of the people rather than leadership. But the former is not the main function of a mun'enchog.

4. elder	ap'apu (Lk 8:3)	mangpangpangulu

Reason: Ap'apu is an authority figure or a grandparent or grandchild. Mangpangpangulu is a person whose main function is leadership.

5. deacon	baar (Lk 2:23)	phaar
E. Jewish religious groups		
1. Israelite	Hudyu (Rom 9:27)	Hudyu
2. Hebrew	Hudyu (Rom 9:27)	Hudyu
3. Gentile	bo'on Hudyu 'not a Jew' (Rom 11:11)	phu'un Hudju
4. priest	pun'alunon di Hudyu 'to function as a priest for the Jews' (Mk 1:44)	No acceptable term found

Reason: In the time available, no acceptable term could be agreed upon; however, there was agreement that pun'alunon does not sound right.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
5. chief priest	ap'apun nan nun'alunon (Acts 19:14)	No acceptable term found

Reason: See 'priest'.

6. high priest	Na'abbagbagtun (Heb 4:14)	No acceptable term found

Reason: See 'priest'. It was difficult for the respondents to decide on the meaning of this word.

7. Pharisee	Palisiu (Mt 16:1)	Palisiu/Pharisee

Reason: The Batad term is acceptable, but the English term is preferred.

8. Sadducee	Hadugi (Mt 16:1)	Hachuki/Sadducee

Reason: The Batad term is acceptable, but the English term is preferred.

F. Political and social terms

1. king	ali (Mt 2:3)	ari
2. emperor	alid Romay 'Roman king' (Acts 25:25)	ari Romay
3. governor	gobernador (Mt 27:2)	gobernador
4. authorities	upihiyal/ap'apu (Rom 13:2)	upihijar/ap'apu
5. judge	huis (Mt 7:1)	hugwi

Reason: Huis is cognate with hugwi, but it is not used in Mayoyao.

6. teacher	muntudtomuduh (1 Cor 12:28)	mihtolo

Reason: Tudu, the root of the Batad term, which means 'to teach', has the same meaning in Mayoyao. But mihtolo is the term the Mayoyao people prefer for 'teacher'.

7. servant	tagalay (Jn 2:7)	takala
8. slave	himbut (Rom 6:17)	himphut

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
G. Religious writings and messages		
1. law	uldin (Mt 5:17)	urchin
2. commandment	uldin (Mt 22:36)	urchin
3. Scriptures	impitudo' (Mt 21:42)	impitola'

Reason: Tudo', the Batad root meaning 'to write', is tola' in Mayoyao.

4. gospel	Maphod an Ulgud 'the good story' (This phrase was used as the title of the Batad New Testament.)	Maphod an Hudhud

Reason: The Batad word ulgud is hudhud in Mayoyao.

H. Religious ceremonies and terms		
1. baptize	banyag (Acts 2:3)	phonjag
2. sacrifice	e'nong (1 Cor 8:1)	e'nong/sacrificio

Reason: More study is needed to determine the complete acceptability of the term e'nong, which refers to the sacrifices of the traditional priests. Due to the connotations it has in the indigenous religious system, some respondents did not want to use it for such meanings in the New Testament as Christ's sacrifice.

3. offering	onong/gohbon (Mt 5:23; Lk 9:54)	michat

Reason: It was difficult to determine the meaning of all the words used for sacrifices. In Mayoyao, kophon refers to a burnt sacrifice, which was thought to be the meaning of the Batad term gohbon. It was also thought that the Batad term onong refers to an animal sacrifice as it does in Mayoyao. For an offering, such as money, the Mayoyao term is michat, but the respondents could not find its Batad equivalent.

4. temple	Balay Apo Dios 'house of God' (Acts 17:24)	Phalay Apo Dios

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
I. Acts of God		
1. miracle	adi olog di tagun mangat 'something a man could never, ever do' (Mt 7:22)	milagro, or the same as the Batad term

Reason: Some liked the simpler Ilocano term, although, with some orthographic changes, the Batad term would be acceptable.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
2. wonder	ina'inatnan adi olog di tagu 'something not done by man' (Acts 2:22)	The Batad term is possible

Reason: The respondents said the Batad term is possible, but they would rather find a different term.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
3. sign	pangannilaan or pangimatunan (Heb 2:4)	pangannilaan or pangimatunan
J. Human beings		
1. body	odol (Mt 6:32)	achor
2. soul	lennawa (Mt 10:28)	lennawa
3. spirit	lennawa (1 Jn 4:2)	lennawa
4. physical life	pi'taguan	pi'takuan
5. eternal life	mi'tagu hi mid hi pagpagnasame 'to live without dying' or mi'taku hi munnanonnong 'to live continuously' (Mt 18:8)	mi'taku hi mid pagpagnasame or mi'taku hi munchochodcha

Reason: Munnanonnong, in Mayoyao, means 'to stay someplace a long time', but it is archaic. The common term now is munchochodcha.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
6. tongue	timid (Ja 3:5)	phalu'uphu

Reason: Timid is 'lower lip' in Mayoyao.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
7. forehead	tu'tu (Rev 3:7)	to'paw

Reason: Tu'tu is a taboo word in Mayoyao.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO

K. God-to-man events

1. love	pamhod (Mt 5:43)	pamhod
2. pity	ikohkohan (Gal 6:2)	manmanika'

Reason: Ikohkohan seems to have equally both the components of giving and having pity. It means to give to a person in great need. The term is still a possibility.

3. mercy	ikohkohan (Mt 9:27)	mannihikad

Reason: See 'pity'.

4. grace	pangipadutu'an (Tit 3:7)	nignikan/ka'ahen Apo Dios

Reason: Pangipadutu'a, in Mayoyao, means 'to give something to the supposed rightful recipient'. Both alternatives are questionable and need to be studied further.

5. judge	humalya (Mt 7:1)	mahugwi

Reason: Humalya, in Mayoyao, means 'to investigate'.

6. condemn	nahumalya (Rev 19:2)	mamorta

Reason: Nahumalya, in Mayoyao, means 'investigated'.

7 punish	morta (Mt 5:26)	morta

L. Man-to-God events

1. love	pamhod (Mt 5:43)	pamhod
2. obey	unudon (Mt 4:23)	unuchon
3. believe	kulukon (Jn 3:11)	patiyon

Reason: Kulukon means 'truth' in Mayoyao.

4. thank	edenol (Mt 15:36)	madmachenor

Reason: Edenol is not a Mayoyao word, although madmachenor is cognate with it.

5. honor	e'konan (Mt 15:4)	lehpito

Reason: E'konan means 'favorite' in Mayoyao.

PROMINENT TERM	BATAD	MAYOYAO
6. praise	*hinapitnay amabodan Apo Dios* 'they say God is their father' (Lk 2:28)	*madaydayaw*

Reason: *Hinapitnay* has the semantic component of doubt. After much discussion, the respondents settled for now on the Ilocano term.

7. pray	*munluwalu* (Mt 5:6)	*munlugwalu*
8. sin	*bohol* (Mt 3:6)	*phohor*
9. repent	*muntutuyu* (Mt 3:2)	*muntutuju*
10. confess	*numpangitutuyuh baholda ulkodon an makulug* (Mt 3:6; Mk 1:5)	*mumpodnu*

Reason: *Ulkudon makulug*, literally, means 'to tell the truth'. It could be used, but the respondents thought that *mumpodnu* was better.

M. Aspects of salvation

1. save	*abaliwan* (Eph 2:5)	*isalakan*

Reason: The Batad term *abaliwan* is *cha'pan* in Mayoyao. Both terms mean 'to help someone in a fight against a third party'. But the respondents preferred the Ilocano term.

2. forgive	*aliwan* (Mt 6:12)	*alichuan*

Reason: *Aliwan* is not used in Mayoyao.

3. justify	*mangibilang* (Rom 4:25)	*miphilang*
4. redeem	*pamaliwan* (1 Pet 1:18)	*nanginan*

Reason: *Pamaliwan* is not understood in Mayoyao; it could mean to change position or color.

5. born again	*miyimbaluy tagun*	*mumpigwan/me'phalay* or *mumpigwan mito'kong*

Reason: *Miyimbaluy* is not a common word in Mayoyao.

6. sanctify	*manalimun* (Heb 10:29)	*nalinihan/nasnatuan*

Reason: *Manalimun*, in Mayoyao, means 'to be a caretaker'.

7. cleanse	*inulahan* (Heb 9:14)	*inulahan*

It can be seen from the discussion above that some of the key Batad religious terms, developed by the strategy of probing for cultural equivalents, conflict with the desires of the speakers of the Mayoyao community, whose strategy has been that of borrowing foreign terms.

Of the 80 key terms that were studied, 34 (43%) were found to be unacceptable for use in Mayoyao. Also, these are terms the group felt would have to be changed. There were other terms that were linguistically correct, but the respondents would like them to be changed as well. These terms are noted above (see, e.g., B-4 and C-2), but they are not included in the above calculation.

There are three categories into which the unacceptable terms fall:

(1) The word is not used in Mayoyao. Some of the terms that fall in this category are those for believer, Scriptures, Gospel, offering, tongue, forehead, forgive, redeem, and born again.

(2) The term is used in Mayoyao, but it has a semantic component that makes its meaning different. Some terms that fall in this category are those for teacher, grace, judge (verb), believe, honor, praise, and justify.

(3) The term is linguistically correct, but the respondents would still like to see it changed. There are six of these terms, which refer to sacrifice, miracle, saint, Messiah, Pharisee, and Sadducee. If these six terms are included with the 34 unacceptable terms mentioned above, then the percentage of unacceptable key terms would be increased from 43% to 50%. For four of these, the Ilocano term was preferred, and for the last two, the English word was preferred. The reason the respondents preferred the loanwords was either because the Ilocano term was already in common use or because the Batad term was cumbersome or not commonly used and no acceptable Mayoyao equivalent could be found in the time available.

Although some of the terms are unacceptable now, it is possible that they would become acceptable if the people were educated as to the terms' actual meanings and uses.

Without a detailed study of the rejected terms, it is not possible to know whether the rejection is because the term is archaic or because there are differences in meaning (e.g. in one or more of the semantic components) between the two lects.

One definite factor is that the process of translation is certainly an educational process in which the receptor community learns new uses of old terms. To illustrate, suppose an acceptable cultural equivalent is not found for a term being translated. It is then necessary to find a term that is close in meaning and then to extend that meaning to cover the source language term. After that, the speech community must be educated as to the new meaning.

In Mayoyao, there has been none of this education as far as the Batad translation, with its specialized category of religious terminology, is concerned. The Batad translation was done in a location that is isolated from the population of Mayoyao. After that translation was completed, the final product was introduced into Mayoyao without any effort to familiarize the Mayoyao people with the translation.

As a result, the whole Batad translation has been rejected. The Mayoyao people have a mental block against it, particularly against the extended key religious terms that were so suddenly introduced to them. All of this might have been avoided if the translation had been done in a location nearer to Mayoyao and there had been some effort to familiarize the Mayoyao people with these extended terms.

This kind of study would be improved by the participaion of a linguist experienced in the language area and a representative from each of the lects in question. There were some Batad lexemes for which none of the Mayoyao speakers knew the meanings. Discussions with a native speaker of that lect would have gone a long way toward clarifying ambiguities and explaining why particular terms were chosen.

6. Conclusions

The purpose and ultimate goal of the production of literature is the widest possible distribution and use of that literature. What good is producing a body of literature for a vernacular only to learn in a number of years that it is either not being used or is limited in its appeal? The insights gained from different survey methodologies can help avoid this kind of situation.

In this thesis, the focus is on six different survey methodologies and the contribution each can make toward answering the question of whether a body of literature is acceptable on both linguistic and sociolinguistic grounds. Also, it is submitted that the use of any one method alone leaves the researcher with a data base that is inadequate for making decisions. In order to obtain as complete a picture as possible, a researcher must use a number and variety of methodologies--and the insights each lends--in a comprehensive strategy.

The strategy used in this research project included lexicostatistics (see section 2.1), phonological comparison (see section 2.2), informal grammatical comparison (see section 2.3), comprehension testing (see section 3), sociolinguistic interviews and observation (see section 4), and testing of specialized lexical categories (see section 5). Of these methods, lexicostatistics, phonological comparison, informal grammatical comparison, and comprehension testing were used to determine the linguistic acceptability of the Batad variety.

Lexicostatistics shows the degree of similarity or dissimilarity of the core vocabularies of two or more genetically related varieties. If the core vocabularies of two varieties are dissimilar and mutual understanding is low, then literature in one variety would not be readily accepted by speakers of the other. This disregards, for the moment, sociolinguistic factors that may enhance the acceptability of a given literature. There are numerous variables involved in lexicostatistics and there is possibility of error in the method since cognate decisions (see section 2.1) are subjective and it is possible to place too great trust in the percentages resulting from those decisions. It was data obtained by this method that led to the tentative conclusion that the number of differences between the core vocabularies of the Batad and Mayoyao lects should not seriously hinder Mayoyao speakers in their comprehension of Batad literature.

Comparison of the phonologies of the Batad and Mayoyao lects augmented the findings made in the lexicostatistical comparison. The two varieties are indeed similar (see section 2.2). It is often the case that varieties sharing similar phonologies also have similar orthographies where some phonological distinctions are either lost or disguised, thus increasing the acceptability of the literature in question.

Because of the need to control the grammar of two lects well enough to make conclusive statements as to their similarity or dissimilarity, informal grammatical comparison is the most tentative method considered in this paper. It was here that this researcher felt his greatest weakness. Better control of the Mayoyao grammar would have enabled him better to understand the data available and to elicit additional data that would give understanding of the intuitive reactions of Mayoyao speakers to Batad literature. However, the limited grammatical data obtained provides some understanding of the kinds of changes that might need to be made in adapting a Batad text so it could be understood in Mayoyao. Further, grammatical comparison gives an indication of the use one could make of a computer in making such adaptations on a wider scale. With changes on the phonological, lexical, and grammatical function word levels, Batad literature should be acceptable to Mayoyao speakers.

The final method used in determining linguistic acceptability of literature is comprehension testing. The obvious contribution of this method is the quantification of the degree of comprehension Mayoyao speakers have of the Batad lect. Since, however, this method tests for how well oral speech is understood, this question arises. When testing for the acceptability of written literature, which medium should be used: oral or written? Another question is, Will the majority of the speech community be hearing the literature read, or will they read it for themselves? Thus, for the future it seems that a method for testing for comprehension of written literature should be developed. Such a test would assume a certain level of literacy. As for Batad and Mayoyao, the data obtained from comprehension testing indicates that the Batad lect is understood to a high degree in Mayoyao, and the literature produced in Batad should therefore be usable in Mayoyao.

These four methods, however, shed light on only half of the question of acceptability of literature. Even though a variety and its literature may be linguistically acceptable, the question of sociolinguistic acceptability may overshadow such linguistic acceptability.

Sociolinguistic investigation seeks to obtain information about language attitudes and language maintenance. The former gives insight into the social acceptability of a variety, its speakers, and its literature. The insight gained from the investigation of language maintenance and shift makes hypotheses possible about the strength of a variety--hypotheses, that is, about whether the variety will last a number of generations and whether it is worth producing literature in it. The results obtained from the methods of sociolinguistic interviews and sociolinguistic observation show that Mayoyao speakers perceive that the Batad lect has few speakers and is of lower prestige than theirs, that the orthography used to represent the Batad lect is unacceptable, and that Mayoyao is a vital lect, which is used for both sentimental and instrumental function.

The final method used in this study, to test for acceptability of Batad literature, is the comparison of lexemes in the specialized category of religious terminology in the two varieties. The basic assumption in this type of comparison is that the lexemes in specialized lexical categories of closely related varieties are the same or very similar. However, even closely related varieties may follow different strategies for filling deficiencies in specialized categories (see section 5.2) and thus may have different lexemes for the same concept. This method has not been widely used as a survey tool, but I submit that it might be applicable on a wider scale. It complements lexicostatistics in that it tests a different part of the lexicon. In our study, this method showed that in Mayoyao a strategy different from that followed in Batad was followed in making up deficiencies and that a significant number of the prominent Batad terms in the domain of religious terminology are not acceptable in Mayoyao.

The results of the use of all these methods in testing for the acceptability, to Mayoyao speakers, of the literature produced in the Batad lect show that there is a need to begin a vernacular literature program for the Mayoyao people.

Surveys in the past that sought to determine the boundaries between varieties on the basis of linguistic similarity alone are giving way to surveys based on both linguistic and sociolinguistic acceptability. This shift has become necessary because the boundaries between varieties are indeterminate due to social factors. The process of making decisions is becoming more complex in the light of the desire these days to produce literature in a lect that may be usable in a region. It is hoped that a comprehensive survey strategy like that used in this research project may be useful in the future in the process of making these decisions.

NOTES

[1] The term *lect* is used in this thesis instead of the more common term *dialect*. It is felt that use of this term avoids the ambiguity and confusion that may be associated with the term dialect (see Hudson 1980:chap. 2).

[2] This thesis is a discussion of a number of survey methodologies and of the insights they give into the acceptability of written literature between varieties of the same language.

The research for this thesis, conducted under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, was done in the municipality of Mayoyao, in Ifugao Province, in the Republic of the Philippines, during a fourteen-month period in 1984 and 1985.

I express my gratitude to the many people of Mayoyao for their hospitality and help during the months we lived there. I particularly thank Mayor Mario Chilagan for his assistance, guidance, and friendship.

Also, I thank the members of my committee for their valuable contributions to this thesis and their efforts on my behalf. And I especially thank Lou Hohulin for her comments on a previous draft of this thesis.

[3] The following abbreviations are used in this thesis:

ALI	Alimit
AYA	Ayangan
BAT	Batad
ENG	English
GUI	Guinihon
ILO	Ilocano
MAY	Mayoyao
PAT	Patjay
PIL	Pilipino
UCCP	United Church of Christ in the Philippines

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

DATA FOR LEXICOSTATISTIC COMPARISON

The following symbols are used to represent the described phones:

ə	Schwa
ɛ	Mid front open vowel
i	High back unrounded vowel
pp	Voiceless bilabial stop, with a voiceless bilabial fricative release
px	Voiceless bilabial stop, with a voiceless velar fricative release
pf	Voiceless bilabial stop, with a voiceless labiodental fricative release
vv	Lengthened vowel
'	Glottal stop
Ø	No lexeme given

ENG[3]	001 abaca	002 afternoon	003 all
MAY	abaka	mapudzao	ənəmin
BAT	pxugwi	mahilip	amin
PAT	pfui	mugod	ənəmin
GUI	pfugwi	mahilip	amin
AYA	fuwi	mogod	ədəmin
ALI	fuwi	məgod	əmin

ENG	004 anger	005 ankle	006 answer
MAY	ppunot	tɛ'lɛn	mɛ'hapit/hunppat
BAT	pxunot	pini	tufalon
PAT	pfunot	pini	toppalon
GUI	pfunot	pini	tufalon
AYA	mafunot	pini	tafalon
ALI	funot	tɛ'lɛn	tafan

ENG	007 anus	008 areca nut	009 ashamed
MAY	akon	məmə	ppumain
BAT	pulon	məmə	pxuməin
PAT	pulon	məmə	pfumain
GUI	pulon	məmə	pfumain
AYA	pulon	məmə	pfumain
ALI	pulon	məmə	fuməin

ENG	010 ashes	011 back	012 bad
MAY	tsəpor	kətud	napukit
BAT	tsapur	pxonog	napuhi
PAT	tsəpor	pfonog	napuhi
GUI	tsapur	pfonog	napuhi
AYA	sapoo	fonog	nakilo
ALI	sapoo	fonog	nakilo

ENG	013 banana	014 bark	015 bathe
MAY	ppalat	opa'	mun'amoh
BAT	pxïalat	kutsah	mun'ameh
PAT	pfalat	kutsah	mun'ameh
GUI	pfïalat	opa'	mun'ameh
AYA	fialat	upa'	mun'amoh
ALI	falat	luphi	mun'amoh

ENG	016 belly	017 betel leaf	018 betel chew
MAY	poto	hapid	munməmə
BAT	putu	hapid	memma
PAT	potoh	hapid	memma
GUI	poto	hapid	memma
AYA	pata	hapid	memmə
ALI	poto	hapid	memmə

ENG	019 big	020 bird	021 to bite
MAY	otong	hagiti	alaton
BAT	ongor	hamuti	umalat
PAT	anar/otong	hamuti	umalat
GUI	otong	hamuti	umalat
AYA	otongan	hamuti	umalat
ALI	otongan	hamuti	umalat

ENG	022 bitter	023 black	024 blanket
MAY	mumpait	mangmangitit	uloh
BAT	mumpait	mangmangitit	uloh
PAT	mumpait	mangmangitit	uloh
GUI	mumpait	mangmangitit	uloh
AYA	mumpait	mangmangitit	uloh
ALI	mumpait	mangmangitit	uloh

ENG	025 blind	026 blood	027 blow
MAY	napᵽəlin	tsala	haputsən
BAT	napxulao	tsala	haputsan
PAT	napfulao	tsala	haputsən
GUI	napfulao	tsala	haputsan
AYA	napfulao	sala	dzudzupan
ALI	napfulao	sala	hapusən

ENG	028 body	029 boil	030 to boil
MAY	ətsor	poghə	ipalugəg
BAT	otsor	pogha	lumuwag
PAT	atsor	poghə	ipalugəg
GUI	asor	pogha	lumuwag
AYA	asoo	pogha	ipalugəg
ALI	asoo	pogha	ipalugəg

ENG	031 bone	032 brain	033 breakfast
MAY	tonar	uto	0
BAT	tonar	uto	0
PAT	tonar	uto	0
GUI	tonar	uto	0
AYA	tona	uto	0
ALI	tona	uto	0

ENG	034 breast	035 burn	036 bury
MAY	huhun/pᵽukə'	mumpor/munhəkə	ilupᵽu'
BAT	huhu	puulan	ilupxu'
PAT	pfuka	mumpor/munhonor	ilupfu'
GUI	huhu	mapulan	ilupfu'
AYA	fukə	apudzən	ilufu'
ALI	pfukə	napolan	ilufu'

ENG	037 butterfly	038 buttocks	039 buy
MAY	or'oloppoi	alipadpad	numina
BAT	ur'uloppoi	tipa	luma'u
PAT	or'oloppoi	tipa	luma'u
GUI	or'oloppoi	tipa	numina
AYA	o'oloppoi	tipa	luma'u
ALI	o'oloppoi	tipa	numina

ENG	040 call	041 canoe	042 canoe paddle
MAY	munədzəg	0	0
BAT	mun'adzəg	0	0
PAT	munadzəg	0	0
GUI	munadzəg	0	0
AYA	mun'adzəg	0	0
ALI	mun'adzəg	0	0

ENG	043 carabao	044 charcoal	045 cheek
MAY	nogang	oleng	apeng/tamer
BAT	nuwang	oleng	tamer
PAT	nugang	oleng	epen/tamer
GUI	nogang	oleng	tamer
AYA	tsogog	oleng	apeng
ALI	tsogog	oleng	tamee

ENG	046 chest	047 chicken	048 child
MAY	ppokə'	mano'	onga
BAT	pxukoan	mənu'	onga
PAT	pfukə'	məno'	onga
GUI	pfukoah	mano'	onga
AYA	fukə'	məno'	fu'tsog
ALI	pfukə'	məno'	onga/fu'dog

ENG	049 chin	050 choose	051 climb
MAY	pangar	hinipεhod	omadzat
BAT	pangar	mumpili	umadzat
PAT	pangar	mumpili	umadzat
GUI	pangar	mumpili	umadzat
AYA	pangar	mumpili	umadzat
ALI	pangar	piliyon	umadzat

ENG	052 cloud	053 coconut (ripe)	054 coconut (unripe)
MAY	ppunut	lidzog	0
BAT	pxεnut	lidzug	0
PAT	pfunut	lidzog	0
GUI	pfunεt	lidug	0
AYA	pfunut	lidzog	0
ALI	funut	lidog	0

ENG	055 cold	056 comb	057 companion
MAY	manuttoning	hukud	munhang
BAT	ayhuki	hukud	munhang
PAT	əyhuki	hukud	munhang
GUI	ayhuki	hukud	munhang
AYA	at'atunen	hakayhay	munhang
ALI	əyhuki	hukud	munhang

ENG	058 to cook	059 cooking pot	060 cotton
MAY	ponippə	ppanga	apoh
BAT	ipxə	pxanga	apoh
PAT	ni'dzipfə	pfana	apoh
GUI	ipfə	pfianga	apoh
AYA	nun'ipfə	fanga	apoh
ALI	nun'ipfə	panga	apoh

ENG	061 cough	062 to count	063 crocodile
MAY	munppilan	umu'u'	ppugədzə
BAT	mun'udzap	okok	pxuwadzə
PAT	munudzap	okok	pfugadzə
GUI	mun'udap	okok	pfugwada
AYA	munpfilang	okok	gwədzəd
ALI	mun'udap	okok	fugədə

ENG	064 crow	065 to cry	066 to cut (slice)
MAY	kadzang	komila	kudkutson
BAT	kadzang	kumidzor	kokotson
PAT	kadzang	komila	kudkotson
GUI	kaidang	kumila	kokotson
AYA	kadzang	komila	kadkotson
ALI	kadang	kumila	kokodson

ENG	067 day	068 dead	069 deaf
MAY	arkao	natoi	napo'it
BAT	arkao	natoi	napo'it
PAT	hinarkəgwən	natoi	napo'it
GUI	arkao	natoi	napo'it
AYA	əkəo	natoi	napu'it
ALI	a'akəgən	natoi	napu'it

ENG	070 debt	071 deep	072 deer
MAY	otongotong	adtsalom	orha
BAT	otong	malihung	orha
PAT	otong	maluhung	orha
GUI	otong	malïhung	orha
AYA	otong	maluhung	uha
ALI	təon	maluhung	oha

ENG	073 defecate	074 delouse	075 difficult
MAY	tumə'i	mon'i'ioto	malikat
BAT	tuma'i	ikkutowon	nalikat
PAT	tumə'i	munikikuto	malikat
GUI	tuma'i	ikutogwon	nalikat
AYA	tumə'i	mun'i'ioto	nalokit
ALI	tumə'i	munikkuto	mahulit

ENG	076 to dig (a hole)	077 dirty (cloth)	078 dog
MAY	monoka	nalokit	aho
BAT	munli'on	natsi'an	kahu
PAT	mumpfia'a	natsi'an	aho
GUI	munlï'on	natsi'an	aho
AYA	munluhu'	nalokit	kahu
ALI	munluhu'	nasian	ahu

ENG	079 dream	080 to drink	081 dry
MAY	ɛnop	uminum	məməkə
BAT	enap	uminum	məməkə
PAT	ɛnop	uminum	məməkə
GUI	ɛnop	uminum	məməkə
AYA	ɛnop	uminum	məməkə
ALI	ɛnop	uminum	məməkə

ENG	082 to dry	083 dull	084 dust
MAY	ehapoi	nangilɛngor	tsəpor
BAT	ihapoi	natopo	tapu'/hupu'
PAT	munhapoi	ngiloh	ɛhupo'
GUI	ihapoi	natopo	tsəpir
AYA	ihapui	nahgulino	sapoo
ALI	ihapui	natupo	sapoo

ENG	**085 ear**	086 earth	087 earthquake
MAY	ina	Ø	lota
BAT	ina	Ø	lota
PAT	ina	Ø	lota
GUI	ina	Ø	lota
AYA	ina	Ø	luto
ALI	ina	Ø	luta

ENG	**088 east**	089 eat	090 eel
MAY	kihu	məngan	tsalit
BAT	ordzog	mangan	tsalit
PAT	ardzob	mangan	tsalit
GUI	aldzob	mangan	salit
AYA	odzob	mangan	tsalit
ALI	odob	mangan	salit

ENG	091 egg	092 eggplant	093 eight
MAY	iklog	talon	gwalo
BAT	itlug	talen	gwalu
PAT	iklog	talon	gwəlu
GUI	itlig	talon	gwəlu
AYA	iklug	talung	gwalo
ALI	iklug	fələnhi	gwəlo

ENG	094 elbow	095 excrement	096 eye
MAY	kihu	ta''i	mata
BAT	ardzog	ta''i	mata
PAT	ardzog	ta''i	mata
GUI	ardzog	ta''i	mata
AYA	hi'uh	ta''i	mata
ALI	hino	ta''i	mata

ENG	097 eyebrow	098 eyelashes	099 face
MAY	itsoi	otsom	angah
BAT	itsoi	otsom	angah
PAT	itsoi	otsom	angah
GUI	itsoi	osom	angah
AYA	isoi	isoi	angah
ALI	isoi	Ø	angah

ENG	100 to fall	101 far	102 fast (adj)
MAY	makah	ətsowi	makalakar
BAT	magah	atsəgwi	makalakar
PAT	makiah	ətsəgwi	maphi'ah
GUI	makiah	əsəgwi	makalakiar
AYA	makah	ətsəgwi	makanah
ALI	maiah	əsəgwi	manah

ENG	103 fat (adj)	104 fat (noun)	105 father
MAY	matappə	tappə	əmə
BAT	matapxə	tapxə	ama
PAT	matapfə	tapfia	amə
GUI	matapfə	tapfə	amə
AYA	matapfə	tafə	amə
ALI	matapfa	tadzə	əmə

ENG	106 to fear	107 feather	108 fence
MAY	tomaot	tsolatsor	alad
BAT	tumaət	tsolatsor	luhud
PAT	umaggiat	tsolatsor	luhud
GUI	tuma'ət	tsolatsor	luhud
AYA	tuma'ot	solasoo	alad
ALI	tuma'ot	sulasuu	aləd

ENG	109 fight	110 finger	111 fingernail
MAY	mumpatoi	ka'omot	o'olong
BAT	mumpatoi	kalaygay	ï''ïlung
PAT	mumpatoi	namoi	u'ulung
GUI	mumpatoi	kaladukoy	u'ulung
AYA	mumpattoi	ka'omot	u'ulung
ALI	mumpattoi	kamat	u'ulong

ENG	112 fire	113 fish	114 five
MAY	apoi	katsiu	lɛmə
BAT	apui	pxolog	lɛma
PAT	apoi	katsiu	lɛma
GUI	apoi	pfolog	lɛma
AYA	apoi	ɛkan	lɛmə
ALI	apoi	kəsiu	lɛmə

ENG	115 floor	116 flower	117 fly (insect)
MAY	tsolong	palager	lalog
BAT	tsotar	habhapxun	lalog
PAT	tsolong	habhapfun	lalog
GUI	tsotar	habhapfun	lalog
AYA	tsolong	palagwe	lalog
ALI	solon	palage	lalog

ENG	118 to fly	119 forehead	120 forget
MAY	tomadzap	to'pau	məlitsuən
BAT	tumadzap	tu'tu'	aligwən
PAT	tumadzap	tu'tu'	aligwən
GUI	tumadap	tu'tu'	aligwən
AYA	tumadzap	tu'tu'	nəligwən
ALI	tumadap	to'pau	əligwən

ENG	121 four	122 fragrant	123 frog
MAY	apat	mumppango	to'ə
BAT	apat	mumpxanglu	tuə'
PAT	apat	mumpfiango	tuə'
GUI	apat	mumpfanglu	tuə'
AYA	apat	mapohat	tokkong
ALI	apat	mumpfangoh	tugtug

ENG	124 fruit	125 full (after eating)	126 full (container)
MAY	ppuna	nabhug	naphu
BAT	pxunah	nabhug	naphu
PAT	pfunah	nabhug	naphu
GUI	pfunah	na'[illegible]sən	naphu
AYA	pfuna	nəbhug	naphu
ALI	funah	nəbhug	naphu

ENG	127 ginger	128 give	129 good
MAY	ladzə	itsat	maphod
BAT	ladza	itsat	maphod
PAT	ladza	itsat	maphod
GUI	ladzə	itsat	maphod
AYA	ladzə	itsat	maphod
ALI	ladə	isat	maphod

ENG	130 green	131 hair	132 hand (noun)
MAY	0	ppuu'	ta'lai
BAT	0	pxuu'	ngamoi
PAT	0	pfuu'	ta'lai
GUI	0	pfuu'	ngamoi
AYA	0	pfuu'	ngamoi
ALI	0	pfuu'	ngamoi

ENG	133 hard	134 head	135 hear
MAY	nalot	ulu	tsonglon
BAT	nalot	ulu	tsonglon
PAT	nalot	olu	tsonglon
GUI	nalot	ulu	tsonglon
AYA	nalot	ulu	inglaon
ALI	nalot	ulu	songlon

ENG	136 heart	137 heavy	138 heel
MAY	puhu	matsamot	mu'ud
BAT	puhu	matsamit	mu'ud
PAT	puhu	matsamot	mu'ud
GUI	puhu	masamot	mu'ud
AYA	puhu	masamot	mu'ud
ALI	puhu	masamot	mu'ud

ENG	139 to hide	140 hold	141 hot
MAY	munhinop	odnən	lumaho
BAT	mipo''oi	odnən	lumahu
PAT	ha'pfa	odnən	lumahu
GUI	mipo''oi	odnən	lumahu
AYA	minhinop	odnən	lumahu
ALI	munhinop	odnən	lumahu

ENG	141 house	143 how many?	144 hundred
MAY	ppələi	atanə	kahot
BAT	pxəloi	atnə	kahot
PAT	apfun	atnə	kahot
GUI	apfun	atna	kahot
AYA	afun	atnə	kahot
ALI	afun	atanə	kahot

ENG	145 hunger	146 hunt	147 husband
MAY	hinang	manganop	əhagə
BAT	hinang	manangït	ahawa
PAT	hinang	manganop	ahagə
GUI	hinang	manganop	ahagə
AYA	hinang	manganop	ahagə
ALI	hinang	manganop	ahagə

ENG	148 husk (rice)	149 if	150 intestine
MAY	tsuki	nu	poto
BAT	tsuki	ay	hilat
PAT	tsuki	nu	poto
GUI	tsuki	əy	poto
AYA	tsuki	nu	poto
ALI	suki	ta'un	mini'itang

ENG	151 itch	152 to kick	153 to kill
MAY	kukuən	hipadtsudzuon	patadzon
BAT	numator	humibtsuy	pumatoi
PAT	kuguən	hi'tsunon	patadon
GUI	kumator	humipadtsui	pumatoi
AYA	munkiato	hipadtsodzon	pumatoi
ALI	kumatoo	hipadsodon	pumatoi

ENG	154 knee	155 know	156 ladle (shell)
MAY	lulug	annilaon	ongot
BAT	lulug	innilaon	ha'lung
PAT	lulak	innilaon	ongot
GUI	luluk	innilaon	hɛlɛn
AYA	luluk	annilәon	ongot
ALI	luluk	inila	hɛleng

ENG	157 lake	158 laugh	159 leaf
MAY	ppənnəw	komeke	tuppu
BAT	pxənnəw	kumiki	padza'
PAT	pfənnəw	komeke	tupfun
GUI	pfənnəw	komeke	pada'
AYA	fənnəw	komiki	tupfun
ALI	pfənnəw	komiki	tufu

ENG	160 learn	161 left (hand)	162 leg
MAY	atsalon	ikid	hu'i
BAT	innalaon	wodhong	hu'i
PAT	atsalon	igkid	hu'i
GUI	innilaon	gwɛdhong	hu'i
AYA	asalon	igkid	hu'i
ALI	innilaon	igkid	hu'i

ENG	163 lice (head)	164 lice	165 to lie (deceive)
MAY	otoh	əkəw	munlahlah
BAT	utu	arkaw	munladzah
PAT	otoh	klao	munlahlah
GUI	utu	arkao	munlahlah
AYA	oto	əkəo	munlahlah
ALI	oto	ɛklao	munlahlah

ENG	166 lightning	167 lime	168 lip
MAY	ilat	apor	timid
BAT	ilat	apor	timid
PAT	ilat	apor	timid
GUI	ilat	apor	timid
AYA	ilat	apoo	timid
ALI	ilat	apoo	timid

ENG	169 live (dwell)	170 liver	171 loincloth
MAY	mihito	ortoi	lɛntsom
BAT	mihito	ortoi	gwanih
PAT	mihito	ortoi	lɛntsom
GUI	mihito	ortoi	lɛntsom
AYA	mihito	ootoi	lensom
ALI	mihito	ootoi	gwanoh

ENG	172 lonely	173 long	174 lose
MAY	muno'oloə	əntsuoi	otagon
BAT	munluntsadza	atso''oi	tila'on
PAT	munluntsadza	ətso'oi	otagon
GUI	məhməhikə	əsu'oi	tila'on
AYA	mun'adzong	əntsuoi	otagon
ALI	omi'ingoho	inənsu'oi	otagon

ENG	175 lungs	176 male	177 many
MAY	ppala	lalae	tso'or
BAT	pxala	lalai	tso'or
PAT	pfila	lali	tso'or
GUI	pfila	lalai	so'or
AYA	fala	lala'e	so'oo
ALI	fala	lala'e	so'oo

ENG	178 mat	179 medicine	180 monkey
MAY	kamin	akah	tu'əg
BAT	atag	akah	pxullang
PAT	kamin	akah	pfullang
GUI	atag	akah	pfulah
AYA	kamin	akah	tu'əg
ALI	ofog	akah	koneh

ENG	181 moon	182 morning	183 mortar
MAY	ppulan	nahnong	lohong
BAT	pxulan	herhelong	lïhïn
PAT	pfulan	herhelong	lohon
GUI	pfulan	inagwa'ah	lïhïn
AYA	pfulan	hehelong	lohong
ALI	fulan	nanong	lohong

ENG	184 mosquito	185 mother	186 mountain
MAY	tumog	inə	ppuludnə
BAT	imu'	ina	tsuntug
PAT	toməh	inə	pfiludnə
GUI	imu'	inə	pfuludnə
AYA	umalat	inə	pfuludnə
ALI	imu'	inə	fuludnə

ENG	187 mouth	188 mud	189 name
MAY	ta'o	pito'	ngatsən
BAT	timid	pito'	ngatsən
PAT	ngwat	pito'	ngatsən
GUI	ta'o	pito'	ngasən
AYA	ta'o	pito'	ngatsən
ALI	ta'o	pito'	ngasən

ENG	190 narrow	191 near	192 neck
MAY	nə'nəəyyudzud	nɛhnot	ppokang
BAT	na'ullipit	nihegkan	pxukong
PAT	0	nɛheggon	pfïkang
GUI	0	niheggon	pfiɛkang
AYA	0	neheggon	fɛkang
ALI	ədzədzud	enheggon	fokang

ENG	193 needle	194 new	195 night
MAY	tanud	ppəku	mədhom
BAT	tantan	pa''amma	mahtsom
PAT	tantan	pfəloh	mədhom
GUI	tantan	pfiakuh	mədhom
AYA	tantan	fəlo	mədhom
ALI	tanud	pa'əmmə	mədhom

ENG	196 nine	197 nipa	198 none
MAY	hidzəm	əbəbppung	mi'id
BAT	hidzəm	0	mi'id
PAT	hidzəm	apfung	mi'id
GUI	hidzəm	0	mi'id
AYA	hidzəm	0	mi'id
ALI	hidzəm	0	mi'id

ENG	199 noon	200 nose	201 not
MAY	nəhə'əd	olong	ppu'un
BAT	mungkagwa	olong	pxo'on
PAT	nəhə'əd	olong	pfu'un
GUI	muntunga	olong	pfu'un
AYA	nə'ə'əkəo	olong	pfu'un
ALI	nə'ə'kəo	olong	fu'un

ENG	202 no	203 now	204 old
MAY	ətsi	0	nəppədzəg
BAT	ətsi	0	tsətsəən
PAT	ətsi	0	0
GUI	əsi	0	0
AYA	ətsi	ədugwən	də'ən
ALI	əsi	ədugwən	nəfədəg

ENG	205 old (person)	206 offspring	207 one
MAY	ma'ilog	ɛmppəlei	aha
BAT	nala'ai	impxəlui	oho
PAT	mailog	impfoloi	oho
GUI	nala'ai	impfalui	oho
AYA	ma'ilog	ɛmpfoloi	oho
ALI	ma'ilog	ɛmpfoloi	oho

ENG	208 other	209 pain	210 palm (of hand)
MAY	nəb'on	muntsokoh	palad
BAT	nəb'on	munha'it	palad
PAT	nəb'on	munha'it	palad
GUI	nob'on	munha'it	palad
AYA	hafiale	munha'it	palad
ALI	nat'on	muntsokoh	palad

ENG	211 to pay	212 peanuts	213 penis
MAY	ppədzətsən	linno'to	ppukli
BAT	pargan	məni	pxutli
PAT	pfidatsən	lolone	pfutli
GUI	pfidətsən	məni	pfutli
AYA	fadadən	məni	pfukli
ALI	fadzasən	0	lohloh

ENG	214 person	215 pestle	216 pig
MAY	takuh	aloh	ppəppui
BAT	taku	ləlu	pxapxui
PAT	takuh	aloh	pfiapfui
GUI	taku	alu	pfiapfui
AYA	taku	aloh	fəfui
ALI	taku	aloh	fiafui

ENG	217 pillow	218 to plant	219 to play
MAY	ponan	muntanom	munlewlegə
BAT	punan	itarom	muninnano
PAT	ponan	muntanom	munliwligə
GUI	punan	itanom	mi'innano
AYA	punan	itanom	mun'in'innano
ALI	punan	muntanom	mun'e'eddzəm

ENG	220 pound rice	221 to pull	222 to push
MAY	mumppədzu	inaton	itolod
BAT	munpxədzu	inaton	itulud
PAT	munpfiadzu	inaton	itolod
GUI	mumpfiadzu	inaton	itulud
AYA	mumpfadzu	inaton	itolod
ALI	mumfadu	inaton	itoson

ENG	223 raft	224 rain	225 rainbow
MAY	ma'orhi	utsən	antippongalon
BAT	0	utsən	pxungarngar
PAT	ma'orhi	utsən	pfungarngar
GUI	0	utsən	pfungarngar
AYA	0	utsən	fongaa
ALI	0	utsən	fongaa

ENG	226 rain cloud	227 rat	228 rattan
MAY	nahdzong	ppu'at	ugwoi
BAT	nahdzong	pxu'at	ugwoi
PAT	nahdzong	pfu'at	ugwoi
GUI	nahdong	pfu'at	ugwoi
AYA	mumfufunot	pfu'at	ugwoi
ALI	mumpfopfonot	fu'at	ugwoi

ENG	229 red	230 repeat	231 return
MAY	mumppolah	ipigwə	umanamut
BAT	munpxolah	ipidwa	umanamut
PAT	munpfolah	ipidgwah	umanamut
GUI	mumpfulah	ipidwa	umanamot
AYA	mumpfulah	ipigə	umanamut
ALI	mumfolah	ipigə	umanamut

ENG	232 rib	233 rice (unhusked)	234 rice (husked)
MAY	talagtag	pakui	ppokah
BAT	talakatag	pakui	pxokah
PAT	talagtag	pakui	pfokah
GUI	talakatag	pakui	pfokiah
AYA	taglan	pakui	pfokah
ALI	taglan	pakui	fokah

ENG	235 rice (cooked)	236 right	237 ring
MAY	mə'ən	əgən	hɛnghɛng
BAT	hinamar	əgwən	hɛnghɛng
PAT	mə'ən	əgwən	hɛnghɛng
GUI	mə'ən	əgwən	hɛnghɛng
AYA	mə'ən	əgən	hɛnghɛng
ALI	mə'ən	əgwən	hɛnghɛng

ENG	238 river	239 roof	240 root
MAY	gwanggwang	atop	lamut
BAT	wangwang	atop	lamït
PAT	gwanggwang	atop	lamut
GUI	ganggang	atop	lamut
AYA	ginnəo	atop	lamut
ALI	gwanggwang	atop	lamut

ENG	241 rope	242 rotten	243 rub
MAY	tali	nəppulu'	ɛpehpeh
BAT	talin	napxulu'	ipehpeh
PAT	talin	naphulu'	ipehpeh
GUI	talin	napfulu	ipehpeh
AYA	tali	nəpfulu'	pihpihon
ALI	tali	nəfulu'	ikuson

ENG	244 to run	245 salt	246 sand
MAY	tomagtag	əhin	panəg
BAT	tumagtag	ahin	panag
PAT	tomagtag	əhin	panag
GUI	tumagtag	əhin	panag
AYA	tomagtag	əhin	panəg
ALI	tomagtag	əhin	panəg

ENG	247 say	248 scar	249 to scratch
MAY	əllon	ppilat	munkukuh
BAT	ardzon	kilah	munkug'u
PAT	odzon	philat	ornont
GUI	ardon	kɛlah	munkug'u
AYA	odzon	pfilat/kelah	ot'otan
ALI	om	filat	ot'otan

ENG	250 sea	251 to see	252 to sell
MAY	bəibəi	tikən	inginə
BAT	pxəipxəi	tikən	ila'u
PAT	pfəipfəi	tikən	inginə
GUI	pfəipfəi	tikən	inginə
AYA	faifai	tikən	ila'u
ALI	faifai	tikən	inginə

ENG	253 seven	254 sew	255 shadow
MAY	pitoh	munokot	əgən
BAT	pitu	mun'okot	ngau
PAT	pitoh	munokut	ngau
GUI	pitoh	munokut	ngau
AYA	pitoh	mon'ukut	au
ALI	pitoh	mun'okot	au

ENG	256 sharp	257 sheath (for bolo)	258 shore
MAY	matatsom	he'ot	palantag
BAT	matatsom	hɛ'ɛt	pingit
PAT	matatsom	hɛ'ot	palantag
GUI	matatsom	hɛ'ɛt	pingit
AYA	matasom	hɛ'ot	pingit
ALI	matasom	hɛ'ot	attapao

ENG	259 short (person)	260 short (object)	261 shoulder
MAY	ho'ho'tsod	ho'ho'tsod	po'or
BAT	he'he'tsod	he'he'tsod	po'or
PAT	ho'ho'tsod	ho'ho'tsod	po'or
GUI	he'he'tsod	he'he'tsod	po'or
AYA	ho'ho'tsod	ho'ho'tsod	po'oo
ALI	ho'ho'tsod	ho'ho'tsod	po'oo

ENG	262 sibling	263 to sit	264 six
MAY	əki	umppun	onom
BAT	ipxə	umpxun	onom
PAT	əki	umpfun	onom
GUI	ibpfə	umpfun	onom
AYA	əki	umpfun	onom
ALI	əki	umfun	onom

ENG	265 skin	266 skinny	267 sky
MAY	op'op	na'ongong	lakud
BAT	ïp'ïp	na'ïngïng	tsadza
PAT	ïp'ïp	na'ongong	lakud
GUI	ïp'ïp	na'ïrkod	tsiadza
AYA	op'op	na'ongong	ulop
ALI	op'op	na'ongong	ulop

ENG	268 slave	269 to sleep	270 small
MAY	takala	malo'	it'ittang
BAT	himpxut	malo'	itang
PAT	enekkop	malo'	mənmənnog
GUI	himpfut	malo'	itang
AYA	himfut	malo'	it'ittang
ALI	himpfut	malo'	it'ittang

ENG	271 to smell	272 smoke	273 smooth
MAY	honghongon	aho'	ma'inah
BAT	hunghungon	ahu'	mun'inur
PAT	honghongon	ahu'	muntsangor
GUI	hunghungon	ahu'	mun'inor
AYA	honghongon	aho'	ma'inah
ALI	honghongon	aho'	ma'inah

ENG	274 snake	275 sole (of foot)	276 soup
MAY	ulog	tsapan	ihppor
BAT	ulog	tsapan	mihpxur
PAT	ulog	tsapan	mihodzup
GUI	ulog	tsapan	mihïdop
AYA	ulog	sapan	hodop
ALI	ulog	sapan	ihopfor

ENG	277 sour	278 space under house	279 span
MAY	mumpait	tsa'olon	tsanan
BAT	umalinu	tsola	tsanan
PAT	mumpait	tsola	tsanan
GUI	umalino	tsola	tsanan
AYA	mumpa'it	sa'olon	tsanan
ALI	munpa'it	tsola	tsanan

ENG	280 spider	281 to spit	282 to squeeze
MAY	a'awə	tumuppa	komkomon
BAT	a'awa	tumuppa	komkomon
PAT	a'awa	tumuppa	komkomon
GUI	a'awa	tumuppa	komkomon
AYA	ə'əgwə	tumuppa	komkomon
ALI	ə'əgwə	tumuppa	pohpohon

ENG	283 to stab	284 to stand	285 star
MAY	togi'on	toma'tsug	ppituən
BAT	tumpig	tuma'tsog	pxituən
PAT	tuli'on	tuma'tsog	pfittuən
GUI	tumpig	toma'tsog	pfittuən
AYA	tuggi'on	tumə'tsug	pfittuwən
ALI	tugwi'on	tuma'tsog	fituwən

ENG	286 to steal	287 to stick to	288 stone
MAY	omakao	epa'pa'	ppato
BAT	manakao	mipa'pa'	pxiato
PAT	manakao	mipa'pa'	pfieto
GUI	manakao	mipa'pa'	pfiatu
AYA	omakao	epa'pa'	pfatu
ALI	akagon	ihepat	fatu

ENG	289 story	290 straight	291 string
MAY	hudhud	ma'antsong	linuppid
BAT	urkud	ma'antsong	linulug
PAT	urkud	ma'antsong	linulug
GUI	olkud	ma'antsong	linulug
AYA	u'ukud	mə'antsong	linulug
ALI	u'ukud	ma'ansong	linufid

ENG	292 strong	293 to suck	294 sugarcane
MAY	mappi'a	munloplop	unah
BAT	mapxi'a	munhuphup	unah
PAT	mapfi'a	munloplop	unah
GUI	mapfi'a	munloplop	unah
AYA	mapfi'a	munloplop	unah
ALI	mafi'a	munloplop	unah

ENG	295 summit	296 to swallow	297 sweat
MAY	panpantoto'nə	u'munon	lengot
BAT	tulid	u'monon	lengot
PAT	tulid	u'munon	lengot
GUI	tulid	u'munon	lengot
AYA	patpatu'nə	u'munon	lengot
ALI	matmatu'nə	aminolon	lengot

ENG	298 sweet	299 sweet potato	300 swidden
MAY	munlame	lo'toh	lo'toh
BAT	munlanu	laka	uma
PAT	munlanu	laka	uma
GUI	munlanu	laka	uma
AYA	munlameeh	lo'toh	imuma
ALI	munlameeh	lo'toh	inumən

ENG	301 to swim	302 tail	303 tear (in weeping)
MAY	humalug	igwit	kela
BAT	humalug	igwit	lugwa
PAT	humalug	igwit	luwa
GUI	humalug	igwit	lugwa
AYA	humalug	igwit	kela
ALI	humalug	igwit	luwə

ENG	304 teeth	305 to tell	306 ten
MAY	ppəppə	əllon	himpolo
BAT	pxəpxə	ipxag	himpolo
PAT	pfəpfə	ipfag	himpolo
GUI	pfəpfə	ipfag	himpolo
AYA	pfəpfə	odzon	himpolo
ALI	fəfə	hapiton	himpolo

ENG	307 termite	308 thick	309 thigh
MAY	ppu'ppu'	ma'o'tor	arpoh
BAT	lu'lu'	ma'ugtor	urpu
PAT	lu'lu'	ma'ugtor	orpoh
GUI	lu'lu'	ma'ugtor	urpo
AYA	lu'lu'	mə'ogtoo	oopoh
ALI	lu'lu'	mə'ogtoo	oopoh

ENG	310 thin (object)	311 thirst	312 thorn
MAY	madzapit	mə'ugao	pakat
BAT	madzapit	mə'ugao	hupxit
PAT	madzapit	mə'ugao	hupfit
GUI	madapit	mə'ugao	hupfit
AYA	məməddzapit	mə'ugao	pakat
ALI	inadapit	mə'ugao	pakat

ENG	313 thousand	314 three	315 throat
MAY	lippu	toloh	pigku'
BAT	lipxu	tolo	aluku'ug
PAT	lipfu	tolo	pigku'
GUI	lipfu	tolo	pfalo'upfu'
AYA	lipfu	toloh	piku'
ALI	lipfu	toloh	pigku'

ENG	316 to throw	317 throw away	318 thunder
MAY	ituud	ɛtapar	itsor
BAT	mumpa'gwah	itapar	itsor
PAT	e'nə	itapar	itsor
GUI	mumpa'gwa	itapar	otsor
AYA	itapaa	itapaa	isoo
ALI	itapaa	itapaa	isoo

ENG	319 to tie	320 today	321 toe
MAY	ikə'od	ədugwənin	pa'əmən
BAT	ehepxod	ədugwən	kalaykay
PAT	ɛk'od	əduwənən	kaladukəy
GUI	ehepfod	ədugwən	pa'əmən
AYA	ikə'od	əduwən	pa'əmən
ALI	ukə'od	əduwən	pa'əmən

ENG	322 tomorrow	323 tongue	324 trail
MAY	magit	ppalu'uppu'	tsalan
BAT	ma'et	tsila	wanti
PAT	mo'et	tsila	tsalan
GUI	mo'et	tsila	wanti
AYA	mo'et	tsila	tsalan
ALI	mo'it	himot	salan

ENG	325 tree	326 trousers	327 to turn
MAY	ədziu	pantalon	munglegong
BAT	adziu	pantalon	munglewong
PAT	adziu	pantalon	munglegwong
GUI	adziu	pantalon	munglewong
AYA	adziu	pantalon	munglegong
ALI	ədziu	pantalon	munglegong

ENG	328 turtle	329 twenty	330 two
MAY	ppa'or'or	tsugəmpolo	tsugə
BAT	pxa'ur'ur	tsugəmpulu	tsugə
PAT	pfa'or'or	tsugompolo	tsugə
GUI	pfa'Ïr'Ïr	tsugəmpolo	tsuga
AYA	fa'oo'oo	tsugəmpolo	tsugə
ALI	fa'oo'oo	sugəmpolo	sugə

ENG	331 under	332 urine	333 vagina
MAY	tsa'olon	ibhu	tili
BAT	0	ibhu	tili
PAT	tsa'or	ibhu	tili
GUI	tsa'or	ibhu	tili
AYA	tsa'ulon	ibhu	tili
ALI	sa'ulon	ibhu	tili

ENG	334 vein	335 vomit	336 to wait
MAY	olat	otaah	hətsun
BAT	olat	uta	otson
PAT	olat	utah	hətsun
GUI	olat	otah	hotson
AYA	ulat	inutah	hətson
ALI	ulat	inutah	hədon

ENG	337 to walk	338 wall	339 wash clothes
MAY	tsumalan	tsə'lig	mun'ihu
BAT	tsumalan	kəub	mun'ihu
PAT	tsumalan	tsə'lig	mun'ihu
GUI	tsumalan	kəub	mun'ihu
AYA	kumə'əo	tsa'lig	mun'ihu
ALI	sumallan	sə'lig	mun'ihu

ENG	340 wash hands	341 water	342 water container
MAY	mumppə'ppə'	tsənum	mumpalo'opo'
BAT	mumpxə'pxə'	lefen	mumpudzuu'
PAT	mumpfə'pfə'	tsənum	mumpədzuu'
GUI	mumpfə'pfə'	tsənum	mumpədzuu'
AYA	mumpfə'pfə'	tsənum	mumpudzuu'
ALI	mumpfə'pfə'	sənum	munədoh

ENG	343 water jar	344 waterfall	345 weak
MAY	tanglao	pon'otanən	nalopoi
BAT	anglig	pannuman	nalupui
PAT	anglin	pannuman	nalupui
GUI	anglin	pannumən	nalupui
AYA	tanglao	pannumən	nalopoi
ALI	tanglao	pon'otanən	nalopoi

ENG	346 weave cloth	347 weave a mat	348 west
MAY	mun'appor	monlakə	ø
BAT	mun'opxor	monlakə	ø
PAT	mun'apfor	monlaka	ø
GUI	mun'opfor	monlakə	ø
AYA	mun'afoo	monlakə	ø
ALI	mun'afoo	munhakap	ø

ENG	349 wet	350 what?	351 what-you-may-call-it
MAY	nahnong	ngay	natsah
BAT	nahnong	hay	an'ah
PAT	nahnong	hay	an'an
GUI	nahnong	hay	an'ah
AYA	nahnong	natsənə	natsah
ALI	nahnong	nagənnui	natsah

ENG	352 when	353 where	354 white
MAY	ə'ənunə	tsama	mumputsao
BAT	ənud	watsən	mumpaha'
PAT	annud	gwatsən	mumpaha'
GUI	annud	wasanə	mumpaha'
AYA	ə'ənunə	tsə'ku	mumpaha'
ALI	ənud	sə'kume	pulao

ENG	355 who	356 wide	357 widow
MAY	ngatsənə	amppilog	ppaloh
BAT	ngatsan	apxillog	napxalu
PAT	ngatsan	apfillog	napfialu
GUI	ngatsan	apfillog	napfialu
AYA	ngagannui	amphilog	pfaloh
ALI	ngatsənə	amfilog	infaloh

ENG	358 wife	359 wind	360 wine (rice)
MAY	ahaga	idzah	ppuppud
BAT	ahaga	tudzup	lipog
PAT	ahaga	tudzup	lipog
GUI	ahaga	tïdïp	lipog
AYA	ahagə	idzah	pfupfud
ALI	ahagə	idah	fadah

ENG	361 wing	362 to winnow	363 wipe
MAY	padzə'	montap	po'nahan
BAT	padza'	muntaap	pu'nahan
PAT	padzə'	muntaap	pu'nahan
GUI	pada'	muntaap	pu'nahan
AYA	padzə'	muntaap	po'nahan
ALI	padə'	muntaap	po'nahan

ENG	364 woman	365 wood	366 woods
MAY	ppəppəi	ədziu	ətsə
BAT	pxiapxia	adziu	inalahan
PAT	pfiapfia	adiu	inalahan
GUI	pfiapfia	adiu	inalahan
AYA	fiafia	ədziu	alih
ALI	fiafia	ədiu	alih

ENG	367 word	368 to work	369 worm
MAY	hapit	muntamu	olang
BAT	hapit	muntamu	olang
PAT	hapit	muntamu	olang
GUI	hapit	muntamu	olang
AYA	pu'naham	muntamu	olang
ALI	kədkətsən	muntamu	olang

ENG	370 year	371 yellow	372 yesterday
MAY	tagun	montitippə	ədəkəppən
BAT	tawon	muntitipxə	ədeugga
PAT	tawon	muntitipfə	ədukapfən
GUI	tagwon	muntïtïfxə	ədugkə
AYA	tagun	muntitipfə	ədugkə
ALI	tagun	muntitipfə	ədugkə

APPENDIX B

COMPLETE DATA FOR GRAMMATICAL COMPARISON

LUKE 8:1-15

1. Wan nalpah heden na'na'at, ya immuy hi Jesus hinan
Gwan narpah hechen na'na'at, ja immuy hi Jesus hinan
naphalin chin hichin

ababluababluy, ya inul'ulgudnay Mapmaphod an Ulgud hi aat di
aphabluphabluy, ja inur'urkudnay Mapmaphod an Urkud hi aat chi
aphuglaphugla, hinudhudnay Hudhud ama'atan

Pumpapto'an Apo Dios. Ya ni'yuy din himpulut duwan intudtuduwana,
Pumpapto'an Apo Dios. Ja ni'juy chin himpulut chugwan intudtuchugwana,
pun'ap'apugwan impainnilana disipolos
ponenchukan

2. ya nitnud goh nan udumnan binabain lina'ahnay nun'ihu'lung an
ja nitnud koh nan uchumna phinaphain lina'ahnay nun'ihu'lung an
ku chin na'lahan chin nunehe'op an
nonlo'phana

nappuhin lennawan dida, ya nan udumna goh an inyadaognay
nappuhin lennawan chicha, ja nan uchumna koh an injachaognay
penachang chin ku na'akahan
napokit an spiritan

lewohonda; ya niddum ay dida Maria, an nungngadan hi Marian
legwohoncha; ja nidchum ay chicha Maria, an unugngachan hi Maria
chin chokohcha an a 0

iMagdala an pituy nun'appuhin lennawah nala'ah hi odolna,
iMagdala an pituy nun'appuhin lennawah nala'ah hi ochorna,
Magdalena pitu an nunapukit an spiritan
an nakakan chi pitu hi penachang

3. ya hi Joana goh, an ahawan Dusa, an nun'endogoh Helod, ya hi
ja hi Joana koh, an ahagwan Dusa, an nun'enchogoh Herod, ja hi
ku kun mannig
apapo hichi palacion

Suhana goh, ya nan udumnan do'ol an binabai. Ya hinalimunanda
Suhana koh, ja nan uchumnan cho'or an phinaphai. Ja hinalimunancha
ku chin An timmulong

da Jesus ti nan abalinanday imbadangda.
cha Jesus ti nan aphalinanchay imphachangcha.
ay hi mahaporna an narpu ay chicha

4. Na'amungday do'ol hi tagun nalpuh nan abablubabluy, ya
Na'amungchay cho'or hi takun narpuh nan aphubluphabluy, ja
Gwan na'amungchachin an atakutaku an hi

inulgud Jesus han nipa''el, ya inalinay, 5. Wa han immuy hi umanan
inurkud Jesus han nipa''er, ja inalinay. Gwa han immuy hi umanan
immali chan ja inalina ay chicha han oha an hudhud
an impadchungna han ohan taku

munhabuag hi oho': ya unat goh inhabuagna, wa waday nagah
munhaphuag hi oho'; ja unat koh inhaphuagna, ja gwachay nakah
nuntanum timphug gwan kuna ihapuuwo' hichin uchumna ja

hinan dalan an natoptop, at immuy nan hamuti, ya
hinan chalan an natoptop, at immuy nan hamuti, ja
cha chin Ø ja naphaicho' ja hayhachi hagwiti
non'ilaitcha cha

a ya nunhobatda nan oho'. 6. Ya nagah din
a ja nunhophatcha nan oho'. Ja nakah chin
(implied eat) chi timphug
ja nun'a'ancha chin timphug

udumnah nan lutan nipa'pa' hinan batu, ya ag'aga ya himmangaw,
uchumna nan lutan nipa'pa' hinan phatu, ja ag'aka ja himmangaw,
ay chi nepa'pa' hichin kagkaju
hichin

mu unat goh naptangan, ya nalyaw, ti mi'id aton di lamutnan lumhod
mu unat koh naptangan, ja narjaw, ti mi'id aton chi lamutnan lumhod
muti unog ku naghitan lomhob

ti un mayapit nan luta. 7. Ya nagah din udumnah nan way lamut; ya
ti un majapit nan luta. Ja nakah chin uchumna nan gway lamut; ja
ta Ø chin achan chi mapakat

ni'hangaw hinan holo', ya na'ipit, at agguy pinumhod.
ni'hangaw hinan holo', ja na'ipit, at agkuy pinumhod.
hichin henajumhumana hotti nalanhuh

8. Mu nan udumna, ya nagah hinan way lo'eh an luta; ya
Mu nan uchumna, ja nakah hinan gway lo'eh an luta; ja
Muti chin hichin acha'an chi maphod

himmangaw, ya bimmunga, ya numbalin hi hinggahinggagahut di
himmangaw, ja phimmunga, ja numphalin hi hingkahingkakahut chi

bungan di hinohha. Ya wan nalpah henen inulgudna, ya imbugawnan
phungan chi hinohha. Ja gwan narpah henen inurkudna, ja imphukawnan
henohha naphalin chin hudhudna ini'gapna an
inalina

mangali, Hay mahapul, ya ihamadyun ingaon ul'ulgudo'.
mangali, Hay mahapur, ja ihamadjun ingaon ur'urkudo'.
enephodjun changngor hinudhud'u

9. Inalin din intudtuduwan Jesus di, Hay ibalinan ne han
Inalin chin intudtuchugwan Jesus chi, Hay iphalinan ne han
disipolos Ngay amatan nuy an

inulgudmun nipa''el an hay aat di nunhabuag? 10. Ya inalinay,
inurkudmun nipa''er an hay aat chi nunhaphuag? Ja inalinay,
hinudhudmun nipadchung hi inat nunhapuuwo'

Mipa'innilay aat di Pumpapto'an Apo Dios ay da'yu, mu adi
Mipa'innilay aat chi Pumpapto'an Apo Dios ay cha'ju, mu achi
amatan (see verse 1) muti

mipa'innilah nan udumnan tagu, at hiyaat un hay nipa''el di
mipa'innilah nan uchumnan taku, at hijaat un hay nipa''er chi
ay chani ja hijaot (see verse 9)

ulgudo', ta tigonday ato', ya donglonday alyo', mu mi'id
urkucho', ta tikonchay ato', ja chonglonchay arjo', mu mi'id
hudhucho' tekonchay ello' muti

iniladah aatna.
inilachah aatna.
amatana
ina'atna

11. Hiyah te pumbalinan di ulgud an hay aat di munhabuag hi
Hijah te pumphalinan chi urkud an hay aat chi munhaphuag hi
taychi hudhud enat nunhapuuwo'an

oho': Nan oho', ya hiyah ne tugun Apo Dios. 12. Ya nan
oho': Nan oho', ja hijay ne tukun Apo Dios. Ja nan
timphug hichin timphug nuy chi hapit chin

dalan an natoptop, ya hiyah ne nomnom di tagun mangngol hi
chalan an natoptop, ja hijay ne nomnom chi takun mangngor hi
(see verse 5) nuy chi phimmaton
puhon

tugun Apo Dios; ya nan hamutin mambat hinan oho', ya hiyah
tukun Apo Dios; ja nan hamutin mamphat hinan oho', ja hijay
hapit hichin hagwiti hichin timphug

ne Diyablu, ti ipa'aliwnay tugun Apo Dios ay dida, ta omod
ne Diyablu, ti ipa'aliwnay tukun Apo Dios ay chicha, ta omod
nuy chi an nangaan ay chi hapit

unda adi unudon, at adida mabaliwan. 13. Ya nan lutan nipa'pa'
uncha achi unuchon, at achicha maphaligwan. Ja nan lutan nipa'pa'
ja chin

hinan batun nagahan di udumnan oho', ya hiyah ne nomnom di
hinan phatun nakahan chi uchumnan oho', ja hijay ne nomnom chi
hichin timphug nuy chi

tagun nangabulut hinan tugun Apo Dios. Ti unat goh dengngolda,
takun nangaphulut hinan tukun Apo Dios. Ti unat koh chengngorcha,
hichin hapit unug ku

ya mun'am'amlongda, mu mi'id limmamutanan dida. Ti unudonah
ja mun'am'amlongcha, mu mi'id limmamutanan chicha. Ti unuchonchah
mun'an'anlacha muti

na'amtang, mu unat goh natapnganda, ya adida inaynayun an
na'amtang, mu unat koh natapngancha, ja achicha inaynajun an
muti unog ku napachacha itortoloy

unudon. 14. Ya nan lamut an ni'hangawan di oho', ya hiyah ne
unuchon. Ja nan lamut an ni'hangagwan chi oho', ja hijay ne
chin mapakat timphug nuy chi

ligat, ya amnaw di tagun umadangyan, ya nan amnaw nan taguh
likat, ja amnaw chi takun umachangjan, ja nan amnaw nan takuh
amoh hini amoh ni

ma'ma'at hitun luta, at amehonday tugun Apo Dios, ta adi pumhod
ma'ma'at hitun luta, at amehonchay tukun Apo Dios, ta achi pumhod
0 ja nama'eh hapit

nan tagu. 15. Ya nan lo'eh an luta, ya hiyah ne nomnom di tagun
nan taku. Ja nan lo'eh an luta, ja hijay ne nomnom chi takun
hana hini maphod nuy

ma'ma'ullay, ya maphod di nomnomda, ya diday mangngol hi tugun
ma'ma'ullay, ja maphod chi nomnomcha, ja chichay mangngor hi tukun
0 hapit

Apo Dios, ya inabulutday alyona, at diday mangiyal'allan mangat
Apo Dios, ja inaphulutchay arjona, at chichay mangijar'allan mangat
ellona ja mangi'aralla
ot mangipangpangulu an

hi maphod, an paddungna nan nitanom an dimmo' di bungana.
hi maphod, an padchungnah nan nitanom an chimm'or chi phungana.
ni

APPENDIX C

MAYOYAO SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

Screening

1. Name?
2. Age?
3. Sex?
4. Where do you live?
5. Education completed?
6. Occupation?
7. Your birthplace?
8. Your mother's birthplace?
9. Your father's birthplace?
10. What languages do you speak?

Language use

11. What language do you use in a barangay meeting in your barrio?
12. What language do you use to pray when you are alone?
13. What language do you use with your children?
14. What language do you use with a friend at work?
15. What do you read?
16. In what language?

Language attitudes

17. Do the people from Batad speak differently from us?
18. What are the differences?
19. Have you ever spoken to someone from Batad?
20. What language do you like best? Why?
21. Which barrio speaks the best Mayoyao? Why?
22. What language will your grandchildren speak most when they are grown? Why?
23. What language would you like to see used in the church? Why?
24. What language is used in your church?
25. What church do you attend?
26. Have you ever seen this Bible (the Batad New Testament) before?
27. Have you ever heard it read?
28. Have you ever read it?
29. If there were a class to teach you to read this Bible, would you like to attend? Why?
30. Would you like to learn to read and write in Mayoyao? Why?
31. Would you like the Bible to be written in Mayoyao? Why?

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agheyisi, Rebecca, and Joshua Fishman. 1970. Language attitude studies: A brief survey of methodological approaches. Anthropological Linguistics 12.137-57.

Baetens Beardsmore, Hugo. 1982. Bilingualism: Basic principles. Clevedon, Avon, England: Tieto.

Bartholomew, Doris A, and Louise C. Schoenhals. 1983. Bilingual dictionaries for indigenous languages. Mexico, DF: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Bendor-Samuel, John. 1982. What answers obviate the need for further research? Notes on Linguistics special publication, 2.9-14.

Bourhis, Richard Y., Howard Giles, and Doreen Rosenthal. 1981. Notes on the construction of a 'subjective vitality questionnaire' for ethnolinguistic groups. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 2:2.145-55.

Brewster, E. Thomas, and Elizabeth S. Brewster. 1976. Language acquisition made practical: Field methods for language learners. Colorado Springs, CO: Lingua House.

Callister, Sandra. 1977. Sociolinguistic approaches to dialect surveying in Papua New Guinea. Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages, 21, ed. by Richard Loving and Gary Simons, 187-216. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Casad, Eugene. 1974. Dialect intelligibility testing. SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, 38. Norman, OK: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma.

Combs, Martin. 1977. Cultural considerations in language change and communication. Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages, 21, ed. by Richard Loving and Gary Simons, 217-30. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Crawford, John C. 1967. Theoretical and methodical beginnings of dialect survey program. Lecture presented at a dialect survey field workers conference in Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico. (Referred to in Casad 1974.)

Dozier, Edward P. 1964. Two examples of linguistic acculturation: The Yaqui of Sonora and Arizona and the Tewa of New Mexico. Language in culture and society, ed. by Dell Hymes, 509-20. New York: Harper and Row.

Dyen, Isidore. 1975. Linguistic subgrouping and lexicostatistics. The Hague: Mouton.

Fasold, Ralph W. 1984. The sociolinguistics of society. (Language in society, 5). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Ferguson, Charles A. 1975. On sociolinguistically oriented language surveys. Language surveys in developing nations, ed. by Sirarpi Ohannessian, Charles A. Ferguson, and Edgar C. Polome, 1-6. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Fishman, Joshua A. 1972a. The sociology of language: An interdisciplinary social science approach to language in society. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

_____. 1972b. Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry: Revisited. Language in sociocultural change: Essays by Joshua A. Fishman, ed. by Anwar S. Dil, 76-134. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Giles, Howard, Richard Y. Bourhis, and D. W. Taylor. 1977. Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations, ed. by Howard Giles, 307-43. New York: Academic Press.

Giles, Howard, Miles Hewstone, and Peter Ball. 1983. Language attitudes in multilingual settings: Prologue with priorities. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 4:2 and 3.81-100.

Greenfield, Lawrence. 1972. Situational measures of normative language views in relation to person, place and topic among Puerto Rican bilinguals. Advances in the sociology of language, vol. 2, ed. by Joshua Fishman, 17-35. The Hague: Mouton.

Grimes, Barbara F. 1985. Comprehension and language attitudes in relation to language choice for literature and education in pre-literate societies. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 6:2.165-81.

_____. 1986. Evaluating bilingual proficiency in language groups for cross-cultural communication. Notes on Linguistics 33.5-27. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Gudschinsky, Sarah C. 1956. The ABC's of lexicostatistics (glottochronology). Word 12:2.175-210.

Gumperz, John. 1977. The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching. RELC Journal 8:2.1-34.

Hartmann, R. R. K. 1983. On theory and practice. Lexicography: Principles and practice, ed. by R. R. K. Hartmann, 3-12. London: Academic Press.

Hickerson, Harold, Glen D. Turner, and Nancy P. Hickerson. 1952. Testing procedures for estimating transfer of information among Iroquois dialects and languages. International Journal of American Linguistics 18.1-8.

Hill, Jane, and Kenneth Hill. 1977. Language death and relexification in Tlaxcalan Nahuatl. International Journal of Sociolinguistics 12.55-69.

Hudson, R. A. 1980. Sociolinguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huffines, Marion Lois. 1980. Pennsylvania German: Maintenance and shift. International Journal of the Sociology of Language 25.43-58.

Hymes, Dell H. 1960. Lexicostatistics so far. Current Anthropology 1:1.3-44.

Labov, William. 1972. Sociolinguistic patterns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lambert, Wallace E., Howard Giles, and O. Picard. 1975. Language attitudes in a French-American community. International Journal of the Sociology of Language 4.127-52.

Leech, Geoffery. 1974. Semantics. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Lieberson, Stanley. 1980. Procedures for improving sociolinguistic surveys of language maintenance and language shift. International Journal of the Sociology of Language 25.11-27.

McKaughan, Howard. 1964. A study of divergence in four New Guinea languages. American Anthropologist 66:4, part 2.98-120.

Milroy, Lesley. 1980. Language and social networks. (Language in society, 2). Baltimore: University Park Press.

Newell, Leonard. 1970. Phonology of Batad Ifugao. Philippine Journal of Linguistics 1:1.101-17.

Opitz, K. 1983. On dictionaries for special registers. Lexicography: Principles and practice, ed. by R. R. K. Hartmann, 53-64. London: Academic Press.

Parasher, S. V. 1980. Mother tongue-English diglossia: A case study of educated Indian bilinguals' language use. Anthropological Linguistics 22.151-62.

Pierce, Joe E. 1952. Dialect distance testing in Algonquian. International Journal of American Linguistics 18. 203-10.

Quakenbush, John Steven. 1986. Language use and proficiency in a multilingual setting: A sociolinguistic survey of Agutaynen speakers in Palawan, Philippines. Georgetown University dissertation. Washington, DC.

Reid, Lawrence A. 1971 (ed.) Philippine minor languages: Word lists and phonologies. Oceanic Linguistics special publication, 8. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Sanders, Arden G. 1977. Guidelines for conducting a lexicostatistic survey in Papua New Guinea. Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages, 21, ed. by Richard Loving and Gary Simons, 21-41. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Schooling, Stephen. 1981. A linguistic and sociolinguistic survey of French Polynesia. Unpublished paper.

Sankoff, Gillian. 1980. The social life of language. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Simons, Gary. 1977a. Phonostatistic methods. Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages, 21, ed. by Richard Loving and Gary Simons, 155-85. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

_____. 1977b. Recognizing patterns of divergence and convergence in a matrix of lexicostatistic relations. Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages, 21, ed. Richard Loving and Gary Simons, 107-34. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

_____. 1979. Language variation and limits to communication. Technical Report No. 3. Report to the National Science Foundation on Grant BNS76-06031. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.

Simons, Linda. 1977. Guidelines for intelligibility testing in Papua New Guinea. Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages, 21, ed. by Richard Loving and Gary Simons, 233-51. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Swadesh, Morris. 1950. Salish internal relationships. International Journal of American Linguistics 16.157-67.

Trudgill, Peter. 1974. Sociolinguistics: An introduction. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Voegelin, C. F., and Zellig S. Harris. 1951. Methods for determining intelligibility among dialects of natural langages. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 95.322-29.

Walker, Roland. 1982. Measuring languague attitudes and language use. Notes on Linguistics special publication, 2.15-25. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Walton, Charles. 1979. A Philippine language tree. Anthropological Linguistics 21:2.70-98.

Walrod, Michael R. 1978. Three criteria for establishing dialect boundaries. Studies in Philippine Linguistics, vol. 2, no. 1, ed. by Casilda Edrial-Luzares and Austin Hale, 1-35. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Weber, David J., and William C. Mann. 1980. Assessing the prospects for computer-assisted dialect adaptation in a particular language. Notes on Linguistics 15.29-40. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Wimbish, John. 1984. Isinai survey report. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Typescript.

Zgusta, Ladislav. 1971. Manual of lexicography. The Hague: Mouton.

A RECONSTRUCTION OF PROTO-SOUTHERN MINDANAON

T. Dale Savage
Summer Institute of Linguistics

1 Introduction
1.1 Purposes
1.2 Procedure
1.3 Previous classifications
1.4 Data sources
2. The phonemic systems of BLK, BLS, and TBL
2.1 Consonants
2.2 Vowels
2.3 Other characteristics
3. Proto-Southern Mindanaon consonants
3.1 Voiceless stops
3.2 Voiced stops
3.3 Nasals
3.4 Spirant *s
3.5 Lateral *l
3.6 Semivowels
3.7 Laryngeals
4. Proto-Southern Mindanaon vowels
4.1 *i
4.2 *ɨ
4.3 *a
4.4 *u
5. Reconstructions and cognate sets
Notes
Appendixes
Selected bibliography

1. Introduction

Tboli (TBL), Koronadal Blaan[1] (BLK), and Sarangani Blaan (BLS) are three languages spoken on the southern Philippine island of Mindanao.[2] Tboli is spoken in the province of Cotabato around Lake Sebu, in the Alah Valley, and southwest toward the coast. Koronadal Blaan is spoken in a crescent that begins in the Lake Buluan area in Cotabato Province and sweeps down the middle of the Sarangani Peninsula on either side of the boundary between Cotabato and Davao Provinces to the Celebes Sea. Sarangani Blaan is spoken on the tip of the Sarangani Peninsula and on Balut and Sarangani Islands.[3]

1.1 Purposes

The purposes of this paper are (a) to reconstruct the phonology of Proto-Southern Mindanaon (PSM), the hypothetical common parent language of BLK, BLS, and TBL; (b) to describe the PSM phonemic system; and (c) to test the assumption that the three daughter languages are related.

1.2 Procedure

The procedure used in the reconstruction of the PSM phonology was that of applying the comparative method to the three daughter languages: BLK, BLS, and TBL. This method was developed by linguists working in the field of Indo-European linguistics to account for the regular, systematic sound correspondences that had been found among the languages of that family.

Longacre states the four stages in the comparative method thus:

> (a) By systemic comparison regular sound correspondences are noted. (b) An attempt is then made to discover which sets of sound correspondences are in contrast in the same or similar phonological environments, and which sets are in noncontrastive distribution (i.e., occur in mutually exclusive environments or in free variation). (c) The reconstructed phonemes are then assigned symbols according to phonetic plausibility, i.e., in terms of the phonetic nature of the reflexes (the present day phonemes which have developed from the reconstructed sounds), in terms of the geographical distribution of those reflexes, and according to their possible placement in the emerging phonological system. (d) Once the phonological system is tentatively worked out for a proto-language (i.e., a "parent" language), we are in a position to recognize other features (grammatical and lexical innovations) which in part obscure the regularity of appearance of the postulated reflexes (1967:120).

These four stages were followed to determine as precisely as possible the genetic relationships of the three southern Mindanao languages named above.

1.3 Previous classifications

In all the works referred to in this study, there is agreement that Koronadal Blaan, Sarangani Blaan, and Tboli are all members of the Austronesian language family. However, the problem is that the subdivisions of that language family have neither been clearly defined nor given acceptable designations.

Dyen (1965:29-39), on the basis of lexicostatistics, names Blaan and Tboli as members of the Bilic subfamily of the Sulic hesion of the Philippine hesion, which is part of the Northwest hesion of the Hesperonian linkage, which is part of the Malayopolynesian linkage of the Austronesian linkage of the Austronesian language family.

Thomas and Healey (1962:22, 27), also on the basis of lexicostatistical information, classify these languages (and possibly Tiruray) as a separate Southern Mindanao group coordinate with the Philippine superstock, which is composed of the majority of the languages spoken in the Philippines, and with the Malay stock, which is composed of the Chamic and the Malay families. According to Thomas and Healey, the split of the Philippine superstock, the Malay stock, and the Southern Mindanao family occurred about 1300 B.C. (±300 years). Within the Southern Mindanao family, no time horizon is suggested for the divergence of Tboli and Blaan or for the divergence of Koronadal and Sarangani Blaan.

Voegelin and Voegelin (1977:38-40) classify Blaan and Tboli according to the subdivisions suggested by Dyen, but they mention Thomas and Healey's treatment of Blaan and Tboli as a 'separate Southern Mindanao group.' Voegelin and Voegelin also mention McKaughan's study (1971), in which he includes Tiruray with Blaan and Tboli in a Southern Mindanao group, which is coordinate with a Northern Philippine group and a Central Philippine group.

Although each of these studies indicates a relationship between Blaan and Tboli, no rigorous application of the comparative method has ever been made to these languages. The primary purpose of this study, then, is to apply the comparative method to the three languages mentioned above and to show that they constitute a Southern Mindanaon subfamily of languages. It is hoped that this study will be helpful to investigators in the field of Austronesian reconstruction.

1.4 Data sources

The main sources of the data used in this study are the word lists of BLK, BLS, and TBL, each consisting of 372 vocabulary items, which are found in Reid 1971. Also incorporated in our data were vocabulary items from the phonemic statements of the three languages: BLK, by Dean and Dean (1955); BLS, by Blackburn and McLachlin (1960); and TBL, by Lindquist, Forsberg, and Healey (1960). Still other vocabulary items from Healey 1959 and Abrams 1963 were also incorporated.

2. The phonemic systems of BLK, BLS, and TBL

In this section are presented the phonemic systems of the daughter languages: Koronadal Blaan, Sarangani Blaan, and Tboli.

2.1 Consonants

The consonants of BLK, BLS, and TBL are shown in chart 1. It may be noted from the chart that the consonant phonemes of the three languages are identical.

PSM	*p	*t	*k	*q	*'	*b	*d	*g	*m	*n	*N		*s	*h	*l	*w	*y
BLK		t	k	q		b	d	g	m	n	N	f	s	h	l	w	y
BLS		t	k	q		b	d	g	m	n	N	f	s	h	l	w	y
TBL		t	k	q		b	d	g	m	n	N	f	s	h	l	w	y

Chart 1. Consonant phonemes of PSM, BLK, BLS, and TBL

2.1.1 Stops

All three languages have the voiceless alveolar stop /t/, voiceless velar stop /k/, and glottal stop /q/. They also have the voiced bilabial stop /b/, voiced alveolar stop /d/, and voiced velar stop /g/; and they have the voiced alveolar flap [r] as the intervocalic allophone of /d/.

2.1.2 Nasals

All three languages have a series of voiced nasals: bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, and velar /N/.

2.1.3 Spirants

All three languages have three voiceless fricatives: flat labiodental /f/, grooved alveolar /s/, and glottal /h/. Also, BLS has the voiceless bilabial stop [p] as an allophone of /f/.

2.1.4 Lateral

All three languages have a voiced lateral /l/.

2.1.5 Semivowels

All three languages have two voiced semivowels: labial /w/ and palatal /y/.

2.2 Vowels

The vowels of BLK, BLS, and TBL are shown in chart 2. All three languages have a seven-vowel system--a feature unique among Philippine languages, where the norm is systems of three or four vowels.

In the past, analysts have used different orthographic conventions in writing the vowel phonemes of these three languages, but in this study we have used the symbols shown in chart 2--symbols that we believe better serve the purpose of comparison.

PSM	BLK	BLS	TBL
*i	i	i	i
	e	e	e
*ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ
*a	a	a	a
*u	u	u	u
	o	o	o
	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ

Chart 2. Vowel phonemes of PSM, BLK, BLS, and TBL

2.2.1 Front vowels

All three languages have two front vowels: the high front unrounded voiced vocoid /i/ and the mid front unrounded voiced vocoid /e/.

2.2.2 Central vowels

All three languages have two central vowels: the high (or mid) central unrounded voiced vocoid /ɨ/ and the low central unrounded voiced vocoid /a/.

2.2.3 Back vowels

All three languages have three back vowels: the high back rounded voiced vocoid /u/, the mid back rounded voiced vocoid /o/, and the low back rounded voiced vocoid /ɔ/.

2.3 Other characteristics

In addition to the fact that each of these three southern Mindanao languages has a seven-vowel system, there are two other characteristics that serve to distinguish these languages from other Philippine languages. The first characteristic is that all three languages have developed initial consonant clusters, and the second is that all three languages have word-final /h/. These characteristics are rare in Philippine languages, and they serve to reinforce the internal unity of the PSM subgroup and its distinctiveness from other Philippine languages.[4]

3. Proto-Southern Mindanaon consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Laryngeal
Voiceless stops	*p	*t	*k	*q, *'
Voiced stops	*b	*d	*g	
Nasals	*m	*n	*N	
Fricatives		*s		*h
Lateral		*l		
Semivowels	*w		*y	

Chart. 3 Proto-Southern Mindanaon consonants

3.1 Voiceless stops

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has a series of three voiceless stops: bilabial *p, alveolar *t, and velar *k. (See chart 3.)

3.1.1 *p

*p has been reconstructed to account for the correspondences /f, f, h/ and /f, f, f/. This reconstruction is based on the following factors:

(a) The reconstruction *p fills the slot of voiceless bilabial stop in an otherwise symmetrical system of voiced stops, voiceless stops, and nasals.

(b) BLS has an allophone [p] of /f/.

(c) The reconstruction *p fills an empty slot in the pattern of consonant clusters occurring with *l. (See section 3.5.)

*p occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. Initial *p has the reflex /f/ in BLK and BLS.[5] In TBL, however, *p has the reflex /h/ in initial position.[6] This correspondence is illustrated by set 20 *pɨqit 'bitter'; BLK feqet, BLS feqet, TBL heqet. Other examples include sets 2, 21 34, 49, 89, 103, 127, 131, 134, 143, 151, 160, 192, 198, 205, 222, 229, 241, 245, 258, 265, 266, 272, 283, 293, 315, 328, 342, 360, 368, 373, 383, and 392.

Intervocalic medial *p has the reflex /f/ in all three languages. It occurs in set 49 *pipih 'cheek'; BLK fifi, BLS fifi, TBL hifih. Other examples include sets 59, 66, 118, 125, 159, 192, 329, 373, and 383.

There are two sets that are apparent exceptions to the previous rules for initial *p, namely, set 126 *(q,')ɨpat 'four'; BLK f t, BLS fat, TBL fat, and set 128 *(q,')ɨpak 'frog'; BLK fak, BLS fak, TBL fak. Each has an initial correspondence of /f, f, f/ rather than the expected correspondence /f, f, h/. This may, however, be explained by the loss of the preceding syllable consisting of a laryngeal plus a vowel. At some point vowel elision occurred in the first syllable of the word. The resulting consonant cluster consisting of a laryngeal plus a stop could not resist the pressure against laryngeals in such clusters, and the laryngeal was lost, leaving the initial /f, f, f/ correspondence.[7]

*p also occurs as the second member of medial consonant clusters in PSM, and in all three languages it has the reflex /f/. This correspondence is illustrated by set 327 *ma(N)pal 'thick (objects)'; BLK maNfɨl, BLS maNfɨl, TBL mfol, and set 394 *malpabi 'yesterday'; BLK malf bi, BLS malfabi.

Final *p has the reflex /f/ in all three languages. An example of this correspondence is set 25 *[m]yup 'blow (as a fire)'; BLK yuf, BLS myuf, TBL myuf. Other examples include sets 25, 56, 59, 251, and 384.

3.1.2 *t

*t occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words, and it has the regular reflex /t/ in all three languages. Initial *t is illustrated by set 35 *tutuq 'breast'; BLK tutuq, BLS tutuq, TBL tutuq. Other examples include sets 5, 14, 30, 43, 61, 93, 106, 116, 132, 145, 157, 165, 183, 215, 217, 225, 249, 253, 267, 286, 302, 308, 309, 313, 314, 324, 334, 336, 341, 384, and 389.

Under obscure conditions BLS has developed the reflex /k/ in initial position--a correspondence illustrated in set 117 *tnugu 'fingernail'; BLK tnugu, BLS knugu, TBL tnuguh, and set 356 *tlɨqil 'urine'; BLK tleq, BLS kleq, TBL tleqel. Also under obscure conditions TBL has developed the reflex /k/ in initial position--a correspondence illustrated by the set 101 *tɨqi 'excrement'; BLK taqe, BLS teqe, TBL keq. A possible explanation for the correspondences found in sets 101 and 356 is euphemistic masking.

Another development with an obscure explanation is that of the TBL reflex /q/ for initial *t, illustrated in set 110 *tabuq 'fat'; BLK tabɨq, BLS tabɨq, TBL qabuq. This correspondence may possibly be explained by the loss of initial *t under unknown conditions and the addition of initial /q/ due to strong pressure against initial vowels.

Intervocalic medial *t has the reflex /t/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 21 *pitɨm 'black'; BLK fitam, BLS fitam, TBL hitɨm. Other examples include sets 1, 23, 24, 32, 35, 74, 76, 80, 98, 102, 106, 152, 153, 158, 160, 172, 180, 198, 206, 218, 251, 266, 304, 306, 359, and 360. In set 106 *(b)tatak 'to fall (drop)'; BLK tatɨk, BLS tatɨk, TBL btaN, there is elision of medial *t in TBL with accompanying loss of the vowel in the final syllable under unknown conditions.

Final *t has the reflex /t/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 4 *[ka]lɨbut 'anger'; BLK lbut, BLS kalbut, TBL lɨbut. Other examples include sets 12, 19, 20, 58, 62, 95, 114, 125, 126, 144, 148, 169, 199, 242, 280, 282, 305, 337, 339, and 358. Set 149 *[m]'init 'hot (as water)'; BLK minit, BLS minit, TBL kiniq, show reflex /q/ for final *t in TBL under unknown conditions.

3.1.3 *k

*k occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. It has the regular reflex /k/ in all three languages. Initial *k has the reflex /k/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 12 *kulit 'bark (of a tree)'; BLK kulit, BLS kulit, TBL kulit. Other examples include sets 4, 22, 28, 34, 40, 45, 46, 53, 65, 66, 80, 97, 156, 158, 172, 174, 228, 257, 280, 301, 326, 346, 367, 375, and 387.

Intervocalic medial *k has the reflex /k/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 19 *[m]qɨkit 'to bite'; BLK qaket, BLS maket, TBL meket. Other examples include sets 15, 53, 75, 82, 112, 113, 145, 163, 271, 272, 286, 321, 335, 339, 368, and 377.

Final *k has the reflex /k/ in all three languages--a correspondence illustrated by set 18 *qanuk 'bird'; BLK qanok, BLS qanuk, TBL qɔnuk. Other examples include sets 28, 32, 51, 54, 66, 70, 103, 122, 128, 138, 154, 190, 198, 221, 231, 242, 244, 254, 258, 283, 304, 322, 326, 364, and 383.

3.2 Voiced stops

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has a series of three voiced stops: bilabial *b, alveolar *d, and velar *g. (See chart 3.)

3.2.1 *b

*b occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. Initial *b has the reflex /b/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 17 *buN 'big'; BLK boN, BLS boN, TBL bɔN. Other examples include sets 23, 42, 69, 75, 105, 122, 127, 129, 130, 133, 144, 153, 163, 171, 188, 191, 194, 196, 197, 206, 223, 254, 293, 304, 306, 335, 337, 341, 374, 377, and 380.

Intervocalic medial *b has the reflex /b/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 57 *labun 'cloud'; BLK labun, BLS labun, TBL lɔbun. Other examples include sets 2, 4, 8, 39, 40, 46, 104, 109, 110, 114, 127, 146, 169, 209, 216, 238, 265, 267, 269, 273, 295, 302, 333, 350, 367, 370, 379, 386, and 394.

Final *b occurs only twice. It has the reflex /b/ in all three languages, but the full correspondence /b, b, b/ is illustrated by only set 365 *[n]qalub 'wash hands'; BLK qalob, BLS nalob, TBL mɔlɔb. The other example is set 22 *kayab 'blanket'; BLK kayab, BLS kayab.

3.2.2 *d

*d occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. Initial *d has the reflex /d/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 168 *daqun 'leaf'; BLK doqon, BLS doqon, TBL dɔqun. Other examples include sets 13, 63, 154, 181, 186, 199, 204, 252, 255, 297, 299, 343, 345, 354, and 372.

Intervocalic medial *d has the reflex /d/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 278 *sudaN 'to sit'; BLK sudɨN, BLS sudɨN, and set 336 *tudaq 'to throw'; BLK tudɔq, TBL tudaq. Other examples include sets 211, 285, 290, 303, 305, and 363.

Final *d has the reflex /d/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 123 *laNɨd 'fly (insect)'; BLK laNad, BLS laNad, TBL lɨNɨd. Other examples include sets 145 and 223.

3.2.3 *g

*g occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. It is, however, poorly attested in the initial position. Initial *g has the reflex /g/ in all three languages, but there is no complete correspondence set /g, g, g/ for *g in initial position. Initial *g is illustrated by set 95 *gusut duh 'east'; BLK gusut du, BLS gusut qi duh, and set 150 *gu(m)nuq 'house'; BLK gumnɨq, BLS gunuq. Other examples include sets 164, 169, 269, and 372.

Intervocalic medial *g has the reflex /g/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 11 *sagiN 'banana'; BLK sagiN, BLS sagiN, TBL s giN. Other examples include sets 9, 58, 64, 83, 88, 100, 117, 139, 140, 148, 150, 185, 187, 199, 224, 230, 310, 338, and 361.

Final *g has the reflex /g/ in all three languages, but there is only one cognate set with all three correspondences /g, g, g/. That set is 388 *dlag 'woods (forest)'; BLK dlag, BLS glag, TBL dlag. Final *g is also illustrated by set 88 *kapag 'dry (not wet)'; BLK kafag, BLS kafag.

3.3 Nasals

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has a series of three nasals: bilabial *m, alveolar *n, and velar *N. (See chart 3.)

3.3.1 *m

*m occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial *m has the reflex /m/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 74 *matɨy 'dead'; BLK mati, BLS mati, TBL matay. Other examples include sets 67, 77, 81, 90, 102, 107, 108, 109, 111, 132, 135, 140, 149, 152, 167, 179, 202, 220, 246, 260, 263, 290, 296, 310, 316, 317, 327, 329, 330, 333, 340, 359, 369, 379, 393, and 394.

Medial *m has the reflex /m/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 16 *nama' 'betel chew (betel and areca nut chew)'; BLK namɔq, BLS namaq, TBL namak. Other examples include sets 5, 6, 63, 120, 205, 228, 269, 270, 298, 310, and 390.

Final *m has the reflex /m/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 21 *pitɨm 'black'; BLK fitam, BLS fitam, TBL hitɨm. Other examples include sets 38, 77, 84, 87, 187, 204, 208, 279, 296, 330, and 371.

3.3.2 *n

*n occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial *n has the reflex /n/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 16 *nama' 'betel chew (betel and areca nut chew)'; BLK namɔq, BLS namaq, TBL namak. Other examples include sets 6, 119, 182, 279, and 376.

Medial *n has the reflex /n/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated in set 18 *qanuk 'bird'; BLK qanok, BLS qanuk, TBL qɔnuk. Other examples include sets 87, 93, 94, 132, 135, 146, 149, 150, 166, 184, 248, 340, 371, and 382.

Final *n has the reflex /n/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 57 *labun 'cloud'; BLK labun, BLS labun, TBL lɔbun. Other examples include sets 14, 34, 96, 127, 155, 168, 181, 191, 236, 247, 248, 260, 263, 264, 269, 281, 307, 323, 324, 345, 354, 360, 375, 381, and 386.

3.3.3 *N

*N occurs in medial and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Medial *N has the reflex /N/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 92 *kliNu 'ear'; BLK kliNɨ, BLS kliNɨ, TBL kliNuh. Other examples include sets 40, 52, 123, 129, 142, 190, 239, 282, 288, 297, 354, and 369.

Final *N has the reflex /N/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 11 *sagiN 'banana'; BLK sagiN, BLS sagiN, TBL sɔgiN. Other examples include sets 17, 41, 44, 48, 65, 75, 76, 91, 98, 104, 124, 143, 170, 174, 188, 193, 194, 202, 206, 212, 224, 249, 268, 278, 285, 320, 321, 335, 338, 363, 367, and 368.

3.4 Spirant *s

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has an alveolar spirant *s. (See chart 3.)

*s occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in PSM words. Initial *s has the reflex /s/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 11 *sagiN 'banana'; BLK sagiN, BLS sagiN, TBL sɔgiN.

Other examples include sets 62, 98, 100, 115, 121, 139, 159, 173, 176, 178, 193, 200, 208, 218, 227, 230, 278, 295, 325, 332, 347, and 378.

Medial *s has the reflex /s/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 249 *tisiN 'ring (for finger)'; BLK tisiN, BLS tisiN, TBL tisiN. Other examples include sets 27, 83, 95, 173, 213, 224, 283, 296, 318, and 372.

Final *s has the reflex /s/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 192 *plapus 'morning'; BLK flɔfus, BLS flafus, TBL hlafus. Other examples include sets 34, 230, 261, 262, 306, and 382.

3.5 Lateral *l

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has an alveolar lateral *l. (See chart 3.)

*l occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial *l has the reflex /l/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 24 *litaq 'blood'; BLK, BLS litɨq, TBL litoq. Other examples include sets 26, 39, 57, 59, 94, 112, 113, 114, 120, 123, 166, 184, 185, 203, 211, 214, 238, 240, 244, 261, 270, 281, 282, 322, 352, 353, and 386.

Medial *l has the reflex /l/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 12 *kulit 'bark (of a tree)'; BLK, BLS, TBL kulit. Other examples include sets 46, 54, 65, 72, 77, 97, 99, 122, 132, 141, 151, 154, 167, 176, 188, 191, 196, 204, 205, 212, 222, 229, 234, 236, 241, 242, 243, 252, 254, 256, 258, 262, 268, 291, 299, 307, 324, 325, 330, 343, 345, 347, 352, 358, 365, 375, 380, 392, and 393.

Final *l has the reflex /l/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 82 *[n]qakul 'to dig (a hole)'; BLK qakol, BLS nakol, and TBL mɔkɔl. Other examples include sets 94, 121, 139, 153, 158, 163, 196, 203, 222, 250, 252, 271, 327, 332, 347, 366, and 393.

*l does not appear as the first member of initial consonant clusters in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words, but its reflex /l/ does appear as the first member of initial consonant clusters in BLK and BLS. *l does not occur in this position in TBL, which is the result of elision of the vowel between initial *l and labial consonants in the two Blaan languages. Set 39 *lɨbaN 'bury (inter)'; BLK lbaN, BLS lbaN, TBL lɨbɨN, illustrates this correspondence. Other examples include sets 59, 322, 352, and 353.

*l occurs as the second member of a consonant cluster in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. It has the reflex /l/ in all three languages--a correspondence illustrated by set 92 *kliNu 'ear'; BLK kliNɨ, BLS kliNɨ, TBL kliNuh. Other examples include sets 2, 34, 104, 125, 133, 135, 142, 144, 171, 192, 194, 290, 333, 334, 356, 369, 388, and 393.

It is noteworthy that the great majority of examples have labial consonants as the first member of initial consonant clusters with *l. Then closer study of the first members of the consonant clusters shows that, except for initial /f, f, h/, all first members of consonant clusters having *l as the second member have complete oral closure. This fact tends to lend further credence to the reconstruction of *p for /f, f, h/ initial correspondences and /f, f, f/ medial correspondences (cf. section 3.1.1).

3.6 Semivowels

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has two semivowels: labial *w and palatal *y. (See chart 3.)

3.6.1 *w

*w occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial *w has the reflex /w/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 70 *wak 'crow'; BLK wɔk, BLS wɔk, TBL wak. Other examples include sets 99 and 138.

Medial *w has the reflex /w/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated in set 26 *lawah 'body'; BLK lawɨh, BLS lawɨ, TBL lowoh. Other examples include sets 44, 89, 105, 107, 181, 322, 352, and 353.

Final *w has the reflex /w/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated in set 46 *kalɨ(m)bɨw 'carabao'; BLK kalabaw, BLS kalabaw, TBL klɨmbɨw. Other examples include sets 67, 166, and 295.

3.6.2 *y

*y occurs in initial, medial, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial *y has the reflex /y/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 155 *ya'ɨn 'husband'; BLK yaqɔn, BLS yaqan, TBL yɨhɨn. Other examples include sets 195 and 381.

Medial *y has the reflex /y/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 124 *[m]qayan 'to fly'; BLK qayɨN, BLS mayɨN, TBL moyoN. Other examples include sets 22, 223, 342, 346, 374, and 387.

Final *y has the reflex /y/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 113 *lakay 'feather (tail of a rooster)'; BLK lakay, BLS lakay, TBL lakay. Other examples include sets 1, 180, 286, 369, and 377.

3.7 Laryngeals

Proto-Southern Mindanaon has a series of three laryngeals: glottal stop *q, voiceless glottal fricative *h, and a laryngeal of indeterminate quality (possibly pharyngeal) *'. (See chart 3.)

3.7.1 *q

*q occurs in initial, intervocalic, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial *q has the reflex /q/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 76 *qutaN 'debt'; BLK qutaN, BLS qutɨN, TBL qutoN. Other examples include sets 18, 32, 44, 48, 51, 58, 78, 84, 187, 212, 239, 268, 273, 291, and 321. Whenever the /q/ reflex of initial *q is preceded by a consonant prefix, /q/ is lost. This is illustrated by set 19 *[m]qakit 'to bite'; BLK qaket, BLS maket, TBL meket. Other examples include sets 54, 82, 87, 124, 148, 242, 243, 256, 305, 339, 359, 361, 365, 370, 371, and 390.

Intervocalic *q has the reflex /q/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 3 *kdɨqɨ 'all'; BLK kdɨqɨ, BLS kdɨqɨ, TBL kdeq. Other examples include sets 20, 101, 121, 168, 186, 211, 240, 250, 332, 356, 366, and 384.

Final *q has the reflex /q/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 23 *butaq 'blind'; BLK butɨq, BLS butɨq, TBL butoq. Other examples include sets 24, 35, 52, 59, 109, 110, 111, 150, 159, 176, 179, 183, 195, 214, 227, 241, 257, 303, 325, 336, 352, 373, 376, and 390.

3.7.2 *h

*h occurs in intervocalic and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Intervocalic *h has the reflex /h/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated by set 78 *quhuh 'deer'; BLK quhɨ, BLS quhɨh, TBL quhuh. Other examples include sets 183, 220, 244, 257, 263, 281, and 320.

Final *h has the reflex /h/ in BLK and TBL. Final *h was lost in BLS. This is illustrated by set 13 *dyuh 'bathe'; BLK dyoh, BLS dyo, TBL dyɔh. Other examples include sets 26, 64, 72, 81, 118, 132, 152, 184, 217, 239, 246, 302, 308, 315, 316, 329, and 342. Under obscure conditions final *h was retained in reflex /h/ in BLS, as illustrated in set 317 *mih 'sweet'; BLK mih, BLS mih, TBL mih; set 105 *bawah 'face'; BLK bawɨh, BLS bawɨh; and set 314 *tah 'summit'; BLK tah, BLS tah. Also under obscure conditions TBL final *h has developed the exceptional reflex /y/, which is illustrated in set 256 *[m]qilah 'to run'; BLK qilah, BLS mila, TBL mloy.

3.7.3 *'

*' occurs in initial, intervocalic, and final positions in Proto-Southern Mindanaon words. Initial *' has the reflex /q/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /k/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 141 *'ulu 'head'; BLK qulu, BLS qulu, TBL kuluh. Other examples include sets 8, 79, 167, 180, 236, and 251.

Intervocalic *' has the reflex /q/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /h/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 155 *ya'ɨn 'husband'; BLK yaqɔn, BLS yaqan, TBL yɨhɨn. Other examples include sets 157, 203, 217, 328, and 381. Under unknown conditions intervocalic *' is retained in reflex /k/ in TBL, as illustrated in set 261 *la'ɨs 'scar'; BLK laqɔs, BLS laqas, TBL lɨkɨs. When *' occurs in intervocalic position and before *n in TBL, it is elided, with accompanying collapse of the vowel cluster. This is illustrated by set 96 *kmɨ'ɨn 'eat'; BLK kaqɔn, BLS mkaqan, TBL mkɨn; set 247 *k[n]ɨ'ɨn 'rice (cooked)'; BLK knaqɔn, BLS knaqan, TBL kɨn; and set 264 *[m(i)]tɨ'ɨn 'to see'; BLK tɨqɨn, BLS tɨqɨn, TBL mtɔn.

Final *' has the reflex /q/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /k/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set *[m]ya' 'ashamed'; BLK yɔq, BLS myaq, TBL myak. Other examples include sets 10, 16, 93, 116, 131, 132, 243, 270, 299, and 343.

PSM	*p	*t	*k	*b	*d	*g	*m	*n	*N	*s	*l	*w	*y	*q	*'	*h
BLK																
t		1														
k			1													
b				1												
d					1											
g						1										
m							1									
n								1								
N									1							
f	1															
s										1						
l											1					
w												2				
y													2			
q														2	1	
h																1
#												5	3	4		

Chart 4. The development of BLK consonants from PSM

Legend: 1 In all environments
2 In all environments not listed in the same vertical column
3 Final after *ɨ, *i
4 Under obscure conditions
5 Final after *u

PSM	*p	*t	*k	*b	*d	*g	*m	*n	*N	*s	*l	*w	*y	*q	*'	*h
BLS																
t		1														
k			1													
b				1												
d					1											
g						1										
m							1									
n								1								
N									1							
f	1															
s										1						
l											1					
w												2				
y													2			
q														2	2	
h																2
#												6	3	4	4	5

Chart 5. The development of BLS consonants from PSM

Legend:
1 In all environments
2 In all environments not listed in the same vertical column
3 Final after *ɨ
4 Initial after a verbal affix
5 Final
6 Final after u

PSM	*p	*t	*k	*b	*d	*g	*m	*n	*N	*s	*l	*w	*y	*q	*'	*h
TBL																
t		2														
k		4	1													
b				2												
d					1											
g						1										
m							1									
n								1								
N									1							
f	2															
s										1						
l											1					
w			4									2				
y													1			
q		4												2	6	
h	3															1
#		4												5	7	

Chart 6. The development of TBL consonants from PSM

Legend:
1 In all environments
2 In all environments not listed in the same vertical column
3 Initial
4 Under obscure conditions
5 Initial when preceded by an affix
6 Medial
7 $V_1\_\_\_V_2$

4. Proto-Southern Mindanaon vowels

Due to inconsistent transcription of the vocabulary lists used in this study, it is difficult, if not impossible, accurately to reconstruct the vowels of Proto-Southern Mindanaon.[8] At the same time, it is possible to make some assumptions about the general characteristics of the Proto-Southern Mindanaon vowel system. The bases of these assumptions are (a) past comparative studies of Austronesian languages, (b) statistical features of the Proto-Southern Mindanaon sound system, and (c) patterns present in the reflexes attested by the three languages.

Proto-Austronesian (PAN), the presumed parent language of Proto-Southern Mindanaon, has been reconstructed by Dempwolff, Dyen, Dahl, and others as having four vowels, which are *i, *ɨ, *a, and *u. Each of the three languages considered in this study has developed a system of seven vowels, which are /i, e, ɨ, a, u, o, and ɔ/. Perhaps the most interesting and important aspect of the reconstruction of Proto-Southern Mindanaon is this development of seven-vowel systems in the daughter languages from the four-vowel system of Proto-Austronesian.

Several factors that seem to have conditioned the development of seven vowels in the daughter languages are the following: position of the vowels in PSM words; vowel harmony; contiguity to velars, nasals, and labials; and laryngeal conditioning.

Three of the four PAN vowels have corresponding reflexes in the three southern Mindanao languages. *i has the reflexes /i, i, i/ in more than fifty instances; *a has the reflexes /a, a, a/ in more than forty instances; and *u has the reflexes /u, u, u/ in more than sixty instances. Other vowel correspondences with high statistical incidence are the following: /a, a, ɔ/ in more than thirty instances, /ɔ, a, a/ in more than thirty instances, /o, o, ɔ/ in more than twenty instances, /ɨ, ɨ, o/ in more than twenty instances, /ɨ, ɨ, u/ in more than fifteen instances, and /e, e, e/ in more than fifteen instances.

	Front	Central	Back
High	*i		*u
Mid		*ɨ	
Low		*a	

Chart 7. Proto-Southern Mindanaon vowels

4.1 *i

*i has the regular reflex /i/ in all three languages: BLK, BLS, and TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 21 *pitɨm 'black'; BLK fitam, BLS fitam, TBL hitɨm. Other examples include sets 11, 12, 24, 27, 48, 49, 83, 87, 92, 94, 97, 100, 112, 120, 125, 139, 149, 151, 153, 159, 170, 171, 176, 185, 187, 198, 200, 203, 205, 212, 242, 249, 252, 257, 263, 266, 282, 304, 317, 319, 321, 329, 333, 341, 343, 350, 368, 375, and 386.

*i also has the reflex /e/ in all three languages in the following environments: (a) monosyllabic words, (b) when preceded by *ɨ, and (c) when contiguous to a laryngeal or a velar in the ultimate syllable. This correspondence is illustrated by set 19 *[m]qɨkit 'to bite'; BLK qaket, BLS maket, TBL meket. Other examples include sets 20, 54, 101, 104, 167, 174, 195, 209, 239, 243, 250, 267, 356, 366, 373, and 393. *iy is illustrated by set 133 *bliy 'give'; BLK ble, BLS ble, TBL blay.

4.2 *ɨ

An important factor in the development of PSM vowels is the diversity of reflexes shown by the pepet vowel--a vowel we symbolize with *ɨ, but, as seen below, Conant symbolizes with ĕ. Conant ([1912] 1973:246) describes the pepet vowel as follows:

> In the vocalism of Indonesian languages the original indifferent vowel plays an important role. Resembling the Hebrew shĕwa, and the obscure vowel of many Indo-European languages, it was so colorless and indefinite in pronunciation that it developed differently in different speech groups. In some languages it remained practically unchanged, as in Javanese, where it is called pepet, while in others it evolved into various and more or less definite vowel sounds, e.g., IN[donesian]: *atĕp 'roof' became Jav[anese] atĕp, Mal[ay] atap, Tag[alog] átip, and Bis[aya] atúp.

In the same article, Conant treats the reflexes of the pepet vowel in several Philippine languages. To account for the development of the reflexes of that vowel in Philippine languages, Conant ([1912] 1973:246) posits seven different classes of environments in which the reflexes occur. These classes are:

I. the ap class, represented by Phil[ippine] atĕp roof, i.e. words having a in the first of two syllables the second of which has pepet;
II. the pa class: Phil. bĕgas rice;
III. the ip class: Phil. nipĕn tooth;
IV. the pi class: Phil. bĕli to buy;
V. the up class: Phil. pusĕd navel;
VI. the pu class: Phil. pĕnu full;
VII. the pp class: Phil. lĕbĕn to excavate.

While it has not been possible to find PSM cognate sets that correspond to all the classes posited by Conant, there are some sets that seem to confirm certain of Conant's hypotheses. In particular, set 251 *'atɨp 'roof'; BLK qataf, BLS qataf, TBL ktɨf (kɨtɨf), shows the /a, a, ɨ/ correspondence in which there are two environments of the pepet vowel that are analogous to Conant's ap class. In the final syllable, *ɨ > /a, a, ɨ/, and in the penultimate syllable *a > /a, a, (,ɨ)/--a correspondence in which in TBL vowel harmony extends from the final to the first syllable. Other sets exhibiting the same reflexes are 77, 121, and 258.

The ip class is represented in the PSM data by set 21 *pitɨm 'black'; BLK fitam, BLS fitam, TBL hitɨm. Another illustration is set 139 *sigɨl 'hand (and arm)'; BLK sigal, BLS sigal, TBL sigɨl. These sets also show the correspondence /a, a, ɨ/ < *ɨ in the final syllable.

The up class is represented in the PSM data by set 32 *qutɨk 'brain'; BLK qutak, BLS qutak, TBL qutɨk. The up class is also illustrated by set 65 *kulɨN 'cooking pot'; BLK kulaN, BLS kulaN, TBL kulɨN. Again, *ɨ has the reflexes /a, a, ɨ/ in the final syllable.

The pu class is illustrated by set 131 *pɨnu' 'full (container)'; BLK fnoq, BLS fnoq, TBL hnɔk (hɨnɔk). In this class in BLK and BLS, *ɨ in the penultimate syllable is regularly elided. In some or our sources, /ɨ/ in the penultimate syllable of TBL forms is transcribed, and in some it is not. Other examples of this class are sets 4, 59, 352, 353, and 382.

Thus, it may be seen that *ɨ has the regular reflex /a/ in BLK and BLS. Also, in those two languages *ɨ is regularly elided when *u occurs in the following syllable. This is also the case sometimes in TBL, where *ɨ has the regular reflex /ɨ/.

When *ɨ is followed by a consonant other than *q and *i > /e, e, e/, *ɨ has the reflex /a/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /e/ in TBL. This is the result of complete assimilation of *ɨ to /e/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 19 *[m]qɨkit 'to bite'; BLK qaket, BLS maket, TBL meket. Other examples include sets 54, 373, and 393. In set 267 *tɨmbil 'sew'; BLK tbel, BLS tambel, TBL tɨmbeh, the /ɨ/ reflex in TBL is preserved because of the intervening consonant cluster.

Whenever *ɨ is followed by *q and *i > /e, e, e/, the reflexes of *ɨ are completely assimilated to /e/. This correspondence is illustrated by set 20 *pɨqit 'bitter'; BLK feqet, BLS feqet, TBL heqet. Other examples include sets 250, 356, and 366.

*ɨy has the reflex /i/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /ay/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 74 *matɨy 'dead'; BLK mati, BLS mati, TBL matay. Sets 58 and 392 also exhibit these reflexes.

*ɨw has the reflex /aw/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /ɨw/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated in set 46 *kalɨ(m)bɨw 'carabao'; BLK kalabaw, BLS kalabaw, TBL klɨmbɨw.

4.3 *a

The reflexes of *a have been particularly obscured in the sources available for this study (cf. note 8). For this reason, reflexes /a/ and /ɔ/ are suspect in BLK and BLS and are not weighted heavily in the reconstruction of *a. Thus, the correspondences /ɔ, a, a/ and /a, a, a/ are both treated as /a, a, a/ in this comparison.[9]

*a has the reflex /a/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 16 *nama' 'betel chew (betel and areca nut chew)'; BLK namɔq, BLS namaq, TBL namak. Other examples include sets 7, 40, 41, 52, 62, 66, 69, 70, 74, 86, 87, 89, 102, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 126, 128, 132, 144, 157, 159, 160, 166, 176, 180, 183, 184, 192, 194, 204, 211, 214, 217, 223, 228, 248, 255, 257, 262, 265, 270, 291, 297, 299, 303, 326, 328, 332, 341, 342, 343, 345, 358, 360, 377, 383, 388, and 392.

In penultimate syllables and contiguous to laryngeals and velars, *a has the reflex /a/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /ɔ/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 18 *qanuk 'bird'; BLK qanok, BLS qanuk, TBL qɔnuk. Other examples include sets 8, 11, 28, 51, 57, 75, 82, 84, 93, 98, 99, 148, 185, 202, 205, 218, 252, 254, 260, 263, 268, 282, 306, 320, 325, 337, 346, 352, 365, 380, and 387.

When *a in a final syllable is contiguous to a semivowel or follows high vowels *i or *u in the preceding syllable, it has the reflex /ɨ/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /o/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 23 *butaq 'blind'; BLK butɨq, BLS butɨq, TBL butoq. Other examples include sets 24, 26, 44, 68, 76, 122, 124, 125, 170, 191, 208, 227, 236, 241, 246, 295, 324, 327, 371, and 375.

When *a in the penultimate syllable in TBL is followed by /o/ in the final syllable, the reflex assimilates to the /o/. This correspondence is illustrated by set 26 *lawah 'body'; BLK lawɨh, BLS lawɨ, TBL lowoh. Other examples include sets 44, 124, 295, and 371.

*ay has the reflex /ay/ in all three languages. When *u occurs in the syllable preceding *ay in BLK, the reflex is /ɔy/. This correspondence is illustrated by set 113 *lakay 'feather (tail of a rooster)'; BLK lakay, BLS lakay, TBL lakay, and by set 377 *bukay 'white'; BLK bukɔy, BLS bukay, TBL bukay. Other examples include sets 1, 180, and 286.

*aw has the reflex /aw/ in all three languages, and this correspondence is illustrated in set 166 *lanaw 'lake'; BLK lanaw, BLS lanaw, TBL lanaw. *aw following *k has the reflexes /ɔw/ in BLK , /aw/ in BLS, and /ow/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 67 *[m]kaw 'cough'; BLK kɔw, BLS mkaw, TBL kow.

4.4 *u

*u has the reflex /u/ in all three languages. This correspondence is illustrated by set 12 *kulit 'bark (of a tree)'; BLK kulit, BLS kulit, TBL kulit. Other examples include sets 4, 8, 23, 25, 32, 35, 48, 57, 65, 76, 78, 87, 91, 99, 100, 104, 109, 117, 122, 141, 152, 154, 163, 167, 172, 188, 191, 192, 193, 196, 204, 212, 217, 218, 234, 236, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 255, 262, 266, 268, 270, 271, 291, 299, 306, 307, 324, 332, 333, 334, 351, 358, 377, 380, and 386.

When *u in an open syllable is preceded by a semivowel or by a high vowel in the penultimate syllable, it has the reflex /ɨ/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /u/ in TBL. *u has these same reflexes also when it occurs between a nasal and a laryngeal. This correspondence is illustrated by set

92 *kliNu 'ear'; BLK kliNɨ, BLS kliNɨ, TBL kliNuh. Other examples include sets 50, 63, 78, 84, 110, 120, 129, 134, 151, 179, 211, 229, 352, 353, 374, and 376.

When *u in a final closed syllable is contiguous to a laryngeal or velar, it has the reflex /o/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /ɔ/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 13 *dyuh 'bathe'; BLK dyoh, BLS dyo, TBL dyɔh. Other examples include sets 17, 28, 59, 75, 82, 98, 112, 116, 130, 131, 148, 244, 254, 315, 321, 325, 335, 352, 368, and 390.

When *uw occurs with *a or *ɨ in the preceding syllable, it has the reflex /u/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /aw/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 135 *lɨmnuw 'green'; BLK mlunu, BLS mlunu, TBL lɨmnaw, and by set 297. *uw in monosyllabic words has the reflex /o/ in BLK and BLS and the reflex /aw/ in TBL. This correspondence is illustrated by set 61 *tnuw 'cold (as of water)'; BLK tno, BLS tno, TBL tnaw.

5. Reconstructions and cognate sets

Following is an array of Proto-Southern Mindanaon reconstructions and cognate sets, which is in alphabetical order according to the English glosses.

As mentioned above, because of inconsistent transcriptions of the vowel phonemes in the sources, complete accuracy in the reconstruction of Proto-Southern Mindanaon vowels is not claimed (see note 8).

The following symbols are used in the list below: asterisk * to indicate a protoform; brackets [] to indicate a probable affix; and parentheses () to indicate either a protoform, for which there is some evidence but no proof, or a choice between two protoforms, either of which may be correct.

1. *lutay 'abaca'; BLK lutɔy, BLS lutay

2. *plabi 'afternoon'; BLK flɔbi, BLS flabi

3. *kdɨqɨ 'all'; BLK kdɨqɨ, BLS kdɨqɨ, TBL kdeq

4. *[ka]lɨbut 'anger'; BLK lbut, BLS kalbut, TBL lɨbut

5. *timɨl 'answer'; BLK timɨl, BLS tnimɨl (timɨl)

6. *nama(q,') 'areca nut'; BLK namɔq, BLS namaq

7. *[m]ya' 'ashamed'; BLK yɔq, BLS myaq, TBL myak

8. *'abu(q) 'ashes'; BLK qabu, BLS qabu, TBL kɔhuq

9. *kagul 'back (of a person)'; BLK kagol, BLS kagol

10. *sasa' 'bad (deleterious, unsuitable)'; BLK sasɨq, BLS sasɨq, TBL sidɨk

11. *sagiN 'banana'; BLK sagiN, BLS sagiN, TBL sɔgiN

12. *kulit 'bark (of a tree)'; BLK kulit, BLS kulit, TBL kulit kɔyuh

13. *dyuh 'bathe'; BLK dyoh, BLS dyo, TBL dyɔh

14. *ti(q,')an 'belly'; BLK tiqɨn, BLS tiqɨn

15. *(q,')ika(q,') 'betel leaf'; BLK qikɨq, BLS qikɨq

16. *nama' 'betel chew (betel and areca nut chew); BLK namɔq, BLS namaq, TBL namak

17. *buN 'big'; BLK boN, BLS boN, TBL bɔN

18. *qanuk 'bird'; BLK qanok, BLS qanuk, TBL qɔnuk

19. *[m]qɨkit 'to bite'; BLK qaket, BLS maket, TBL meket

20. *pɨqit 'bitter'; BLK feqet, BLS feqet, TBL heqet

21. *pitɨm 'black'; BLK fitam, BLS fitam, TBL hitɨm

22. *kayab 'blanket'; BLK kayab, BLS kayab

23. *butaq 'blind'; BLK butɨq, BLS butɨq, TBL butoq

24. *litaq 'blood'; BLK litɨq, BLS litɨq, TBL litoq

25. *[m]yup 'blow (as a fire)'; BLK yuf, BLS myuf, TBL myuf

26. *lawah 'body'; BLK lawɨh, BLS lawɨ, TBL lowoh

27. *pisa 'boil (infection)'; BLK fisɔ, TBL hisah

28. *k[m]aduk 'to boil (intransitive)'; BLK kadok, BLS kaqok, TBL kmɔdɔk

29. *balu(q,') 'bolo'; BLK baloq, BLS baloq

30. *tulan 'bone'; BLK tulɔn, BLS tulan

31. *pana' 'bow (arrow)'; BLK fanɔq, TBL hanak

32. *qutɨk 'brain'; BLK qutak, BLS qutak, TBL qutɨk

33. *misa' 'break (hatch); BLK misɔq, TBL misɔk

34. *k[n]a'an plapus 'breakfast'; BLK knaqɔn flɔfus, TBL kɨn hlafus

35. tutuq 'breast'; BLK tutuq, BLS tutuq, TBL tutuq

36. *twali 'brother (younger)'; BLK twali, BLS twali

37. *timbaq 'bucket'; BLK timbɔq, TBL timbaq

38. *[n]tɨm 'burn'; BLK tam, BLS ntam, TBL mtɨm

39. *lɨbaN 'bury (inter)'; BLK lbaN, BLS lbaN, TBL lɨbɨN

40. *kalbaNi 'butterfly'; BLK kalbɔNe, BLS kalbaNi, TBL kbaNih

41. *kwaN 'buttocks'; BLK kwaN, BLS kwaN, TBL kwaN (back)

42. *bɨmli 'buy'; BLK bli, TBL bɨmlih

43. *tlu 'call'; BLK tlo, BLS tlo

44. *qawaN 'canoe (boat)'; BLK qawɨN, BLS qawɨN, TBL qowoN

45. *kwa 'canoe paddle'; BLS kwa, TBL kwah

46. *kalɨ(m)bɨw 'carabao'; BLK kalabaw, BLS kalabaw, TBL klɨmbɨw

47. *kɨ'ɨn 'cat (as a food)'; BLK kaqɔn, TBL kɨn

48. *quliN (qusiN) 'charcoal'; BLK quliN (qusiN), BLS quliN, TBL qusiN.

49. *pipih 'cheek'; BLK fifi, BLS fifi TBL hifih

50. *kpu 'chest (of the body)'; BLK kfɨ, BLS kfɨ, TBL kfuh

51. *qanuk 'chicken'; BLK qanok, BLS qanuk, TBL qɔnuk

52. *tiNaq 'child'; BLK Nɔq, BLS tiNaq, TBL Naq

53. *kɨkɨq 'chin'; BLK kɨkɨq, BLS kɨkɨq

54. *[n]qɨlik 'choose'; BLK qalek, BLS nalek, TBL melek

55. *datuq 'clan head'; BLK dɔtuq, TBL datuq

56. *[m]kap 'climb (a tree)'; BLK kɨf, BLS mkɨf, TBL mkaf

57. *labun 'cloud'; BLK labun, BLS labun, TBL lɔbun

58. *qagit 'coconut (unripe)'; BLK qɔgit, TBL qagit

59. *lɨpuq 'coconut (ripe); BLK tuqa lfoq, BLS lfoq, TBL lɨf q

60. *gataq 'coconut milk'; BLK gatɔq, TBL gataq

61. *tnuw 'cold (as of water)'; BLK tno, BLS tno, TBL tnaw

62. *swat 'comb'; BLK swɔt, BLS swat, TBL swat

63. *dadumu 'companion'; BLK dadɨmɨ, BLS dɨmɨ, TBL dumuh

64. *t[m]agah 'to cook'; BLK tagah, TBL tmogoh

65. *kulɨN 'cooking pot'; BLK kulaN, BLS kulaN, TBL kulɨN

66. *kapuk 'cotton'; BLK kɔfuk, BLS kafok, TBL kafuk

67. *[m]kaw 'cough'; BLK kɔw, BLS mkaw, TBL kɔw

68. *[m]saq 'to count'; BLK sɨ, BLS msɨ, TBL msoq

69. *bwaNkɨh 'crocodile'; BLK bwɔyɔ, BLS bayah, TBL bwaNkug

70. *wak 'crow'; BLK wɔk, BLS wɔk, TBL wak

71. *[m]Nal 'to cry (weep)'; BLK Nɨl, BLS mNɨl

72. *p[n]alih 'to cut (slice meat)'; BLK faleh, BLS fnale

73. *(k)du(w,h) 'day'; BLK du, BLS duh, TBL kdaw (kadaw)

74. *matɨy 'dead'; BLK mati, BLS mati, TBL dɨN matay

75. *bakuN 'deaf'; BLK bakoN, BLS bakoN, TBL bɔkɔN

76. *qutaN 'debt'; BLK qutaN, BLS qutɨN, TBL qutoN

77. *mNalɨm 'deep'; BLK mNalam, BLS mnalam, TBL Nɨlɨm

78. *quhuh 'deer'; BLK quhɨ, BLS quhɨh, TBL quhuh

79. *[m](q,')iloN 'defecate'; BLK qiloN, BLS miloN

80. *kutu(q,') 'delouse'; BLK nayɨ kutuq, TBL tɨmNɨl kutu

81. *mlimah 'difficult'; BLK mlimah, BLS malima

82. *[n]qakul 'to dig (a hole)'; BLK qakol, BLS nakol, TBL mɔkɔl

83. *magagsik 'dirty (clothes)'; BLK magsik, BLS magagsik, TBL nusiN

84. *qayɨm 'dog'; BLK gayɨm, BLS gayɨm

85. *pintuq 'door'; BLK fintuq, TBL hintuq

86. *kna 'dream'; BLK knɔ, BLS kna, TBL knah

87. *[m]qinum 'to drink'; BLK qinum, BLS minum, TBL minum

88. *kapag 'dry (not wet)'; BLK kafag, BLS kafag

89. *pa(n)lawi 'to dry (rice in the sun)'; BLK falawi, BLS fanlawi, TBL hdaw

90. *laq 'dull (as a knife)'; BLS laq gamban, TBL laq tɨlɨm

91. *kpuN 'dust'; BLK kfuN, BLS kfuN, TBL kfuN

92. *kliNu ‘ear’; BLK kliNɨ, BLS kliNɨ, TBL kliNuh

93. *tana' ‘earth (ground)’; BLK tanɔq, BLS tanaq, TBL tɔnɔk

94. *linul ‘earthquake’; BLK linol, BLS linol, TBL linɔl

95. *gusut duh ‘east’; BLK gusut du, BLS gusut qi duh

96. *kmɨ'ɨn ‘eat’; BLK kaqɔn, BLS kmaqan, TBL mkɨn

97. *kili ‘eel’; BLK kili, BLS kili, TBL kilih

98. *sɨgatuN ‘eggplant’; BLK sgatoN, BLS skatoN, TBL sɨgɔtɔN

99. *walu ‘eight’; BLK walu, BLS walu, TBL wɔluh

100. *sigu ‘elbow’; BLK sigu, BLS sigu, TBL siguh

101. *tɨqi ‘excrement’; BLK taqe (teqe), BLS teqe, TBL keq

102. *mata ‘eye’; BLK matɔ, BLS mata, TBL matah

103. *pulak ‘eyebrow’; BLK fulak, TBL hulɔk

104. *klubiN ‘eyelashes’; BLK klubeN, BLS klubeN (eyebrow), TBL klubeN

105. *bawah ‘face’; BLK bawɨh, BLS bawɨh

106. *(b)tatak ‘to fall (drop, not topple)’; BLK tatɨk, BLS tatɨk, TBL btaN

107. *mawɨg ‘far’; BLK mawɔg, BLS mawag, TBL mayuk

108. *mɨ(t)lal(ik) ‘fast (adj)’; BLK mlal, BLS mlal, TBL mɨtlasik

109. *mabug ‘fat (adj)’; BLK mɔbug, BLS mabuq, TBL mabuq

110. *tabuq ‘fat (noun)’; BLK tabɨq, BLS tabɨq, TBL qabuq

111. *maq ‘father’; BLK mɔq, BLS maq, TBL maq

112. *likuq ‘to fear’; BLK likoq, BLS likoq, TBL likɔq

113. *lakay ‘feather (tail of a rooster)’; BLK lakay qanok, BLS lakay (tail feather), TBL lakay

114. *labat 'fence'; BLK labɔt, BLS labat, TBL labat

115. *spatɨy 'fight'; BLS sfati, TBL sfatay

116. *tnalu' 'finger'; BLK tnaloq, BLS tnaloq, TBL tɔlɔk (tɨdɔk, tdɔk)

117. *tnugu 'fingernail'; BLK tnugu, BLS knugu, TBL tnuguh

118. *lipuh 'fire'; BLK lifoh, BLS lifo

119. *nalap 'fish (generic)'; BLK nalaf, BLS nalaf

120. *limu 'five'; BLK limɨ, BLS limɨ, TBL limuh

121. *saqɨl 'floor'; BLK saqɔl, BLS saqal, TBL sɨqɨl

122. *bulak 'flower'; BLK bulɨk, BLS bulɨk, TBL bulok

123. *laNɨd 'fly (insect)'; BLK laNad, BLS laNad, TBL lɨNɨd

124. *[m]qayaN 'to fly'; BLK qayɨN, BLS mayɨN, TBL moyoN

125. *(k,q)lipat 'forget'; BLK lifɨt, BLS glifɨt, TBL klifot

126. *(q,')ɨpat 'four'; BLK fɔt, BLS fat, TBL fat

127. *pyu bun 'fragrant'; BLK fyɨ bun, BLS fyɨ bun

128. *(q,')ɨpak 'frog (generic)'; BLK fak, BLS fak, TBL fak

129. *buNu 'fruit'; BLK bɨNɨ, BLS buNɨ, TBL buNuh

130. *bsul 'full (after eating)'; BLK bsol, BLS bsol, TBL bsɔw

131. *pɨnu' 'full (container)'; BLK fnoq, BLS fnoq, TBL hnɔk (hɨnɔk)

132. *mala' tana' 'ginger'; BLK malah tanɔq, BLS mala, TBL mala tɔnɔk

133. *bliy 'give'; BLK ble, BLS ble, TBL blay

134. *pyu 'good'; BLK fyɨ, BLS fyɨ, TBL hyuh

135. *lɨmnuw 'green'; BLK mlunu (also blue), BLS mlunu, TBL lɨmnaw

136. *quban 'grey hair'; BLK qubɨn, TBL qubon

137. *tabu' 'grow'; BLK taboq, TBL tɔwɨk

138. *wɨk 'hair'; BLK wak, BLS wak, TBL wɨk

139. *sigɨl 'hand (and arm)'; BLK sigal, BLS sigal, TBL sigɨl

140. *magɨl ‘hard (substance)’; BLK mageN, BLS mgal, TBL mgɨl

141. *'ulu ‘head’; BLK qulu, BLS qulu, TBL kuluh

142. *liNu ‘hear’; BLK liNɨ, BLS liNɨ

143. *pupuN ‘heart’; BLK fufuN, BLS fufuN

144. *blat ‘heavy’; BLK blɔt, BLS blat, TBL blat

145. *takɨd ‘heel’; BLK takad, BLS takad, TBL tikɨd

146. *(sal)buni ‘to hide’; BLK buni, BLS salbuni

147. *nalaq ‘hold’; BLK nalɔq, BLS nalɔq

148. *[n]qagut ‘hold (small object in the hand)’; BLK qagot, BLS nagot, TBL mɔgɔt

149. *[m]'init ‘hot (as water)’; BLK minit, BLS minit, TBL kiniq.

150. *gu(m)nuq ‘house’; BLK gumnɨq, TBL gunuq

151. *pilu ‘how many’; BLK filɨ, BLS filɨ, TBL hiluh

152. *lɨmatuh ‘hundred’; BLK mlatuh, BLS mlatu, TBL lɨmatuh

153. *bitil ‘hunger’; BLK bitil, BLS bitil, TBL bitil

154. *d[m]ulak ‘hunt (for game)’; BLK dulak (without dogs), BLS dmulak, TBL dmulok

155. *ya'ɨn ‘husband’; BLK yaqɔn, BLS yaqan, TBL yɨhɨn

156. *ku ‘if’; BLK ku, BLS ku, TBL kɨ

157. *tna'i ‘intestines’; BLK tnaqe, BLS tnaqi, TBL tnahih

158. *katɨl ‘itch’; BLK katal, BLS katal, TBL kɨtɨl

159. *s[m]ipaq ‘to kick’; BLK sifɔq, BLS smifaq, TBL smifaq (sifaq)

160. *p[n]atɨy ‘kill’; BLK fɔti, BLS fnati, TBL matay

161. *banu' ‘kill, struggle’; BLK banoq, TBL bɔnɔk

162. *nakak ‘to kiss’; BLK nalak, BLS nalak

163. *bukal ‘knee’; BLK bukal, BLS bukal, TBL bukɔl

164. *gadaq ‘know (a person)’; BLK gadɨq, BLS gadɨq

165. *tyul ‘ladle (of coconut shell)’; BLK tyul, BLS tyul

166. *lanaw 'lake'; BLK lanaw, BLS lanaw, TBL lanaw

167. *[m]'uli 'laugh'; BLK qule, BLS mule, TBL kulih

168. *daqun 'leaf'; BLK doqon, BLS doqon, TBL dɔqun

169. *ga(m)bat 'learn'; BLK gbɨt, BLS gambɨt

170. *q(b)ibaN 'left (hand)'; BLK bibɨN, BLS qibɨN, TBL qiwoN

171. *bliq 'leg (and foot)'; BLK bliq, BLS bliq

172. *kutu(q) 'lice (head)'; BLK kutuq, BLS kutu, TBL kutuh

173. *sisip 'lice (chicken)'; BLK sisif, TBL sisif

174. *kiN 'to lie (untruth)'; BLK keN, BLS tmulɨn keN, TBL mɔq keN

175. *salu' 'light, torch'; BLK saloq, TBL sɔlɔk

176. *silaq 'lightning'; BLK silɔq, BLS silaq, TBL silaq

177. *qapul 'lime'; BLK qɔful, BLS qaful, TBL lɔhɔq

178. *salik 'lip'; BLK salek, BLS salek

179. *[m]nuq 'live (dwell)'; BLK mnɨq, BLS mnɨq, TBL nuq

180. *'atay 'liver'; BLK qatɔy, BLS qatay, TBL katay

181. *dawin 'loincloth'; BLK dɔwin, TBL dɔwin

182. *nawa 'lonely'; BLK laNag nawa, TBL hahuq nawah

183. *tahaq 'long (object)'; BLK tahɔq, BLS tahaq, TBL tahaq

184. *lanah 'lose'; BLK lanɔh, BLS lana, TBL lanah

185. *laqi 'man (male)'; BLK laqi, BLS laqi, TBL lɔqih

186. *dɨqɨ 'many'; BLK dɨqɨ, BLS dɨqɨ, TBL deq

187. *qigam 'mat'; BLK qigɨm, BLS qigɨm, TBL qigam

188. *buluN 'medicine'; BLK buluN, BLS buluN, TBL buluN

189. *tɨNaq 'middle, half measure'; BLK (gu)tNɔq, TBL tɨNaq

190. *(q,')aNuk 'monkey'; BLK qaNok, BLS qaNɔk

191. *bulan 'moon'; BLK bulɨn, BLS bulɨn, TBL bulon

192. *plapus 'morning'; BLK flɔfus, BLS flafus, TBL hlafus

193. *suN 'mortar (rice)'; BLK suN, BLS suN, TBL suN

194. *blabaN 'mosquito'; BLK blabɔN, BLS blabaN, TBL blawaN

195. *yiq 'mother'; BLK yeq, BLS yeq, TBL yeq

196. *bulul 'mountain'; BLK bulul, BLS bulul, TBL bulul

197. *ba' 'mouth'; BLK bɔq, BLS baq, TBL bak

198. *pitak 'mud'; BLK fitak, BLS fitak, TBL hitɔk

199. *dagit 'name'; BLK dagit, BLS dagit

200. *sikɨb 'narrow'; BLS sikab (body of water), TBL sikɨb

201. *si(g)pit 'narrow'; BLK sifit, BLS sigfit

202. *mdaduN 'near'; BLK mdadoN, BLS mdadoN

203. *li'al 'neck'; BLK liqal, BLS liqal, TBL lihɔl

204. *dalum 'needle'; BLK dalum, BLS dalum, TBL dalum

205. *palami 'new'; BLK falami, BLS falami, TBL lɔmih

206. *butaN 'night'; BLK butaN, BLS butaN

207. *kipuh 'night'; BLK kifuh (darkness), TBL kifuh

208. *siyam 'nine'; BLK syɨm, BLS siqɨm, TBL syom

209. *lɨbi 'nipa'; BLK labe, TBL lebe

210. *quni 'noise'; BLK quni, TBL qunih

211. *laqɨn duqɨn 'none'; BLK landɨq, BLS landɨq, TBL laqɨn duqɨn

212. *qiluN 'nose'; BLK qiluN, BLS qiluN, TBL qiluN

213. *qisu 'not' (as in 'It is not a pig'); BLK qisɨ, BLS qisɨ

214. *laq 'not' (as in 'He is not running'); BLK lɔq, BLS laq, TBL laq

215. *ta 'now, already (completive particle)'; BLK ta, BLS ta

216. *labi 'old (objects)'; BLK lɔbi, BLS labi

217. *tu'a(h) 'old (persons)'; BLK tuqah (tuqa) (tuqɔh), BLS tuqa, TBL tuhah

218. *satu ‘one’; BLK satu, BLS satu, TBL sɔtuh

219. *dway ‘one of many wives’; BLK dway, BLS dway

220. *mahal ‘other (different)’; BLK mahal (mɔhɔl), BLS mahal

221. *tɨ(m)duk ‘pain’; BLK tdok, BLS tduk, TBL tɨmduk

222. *palal ‘palm (of hand)’; BLK falɨl, BLS falel, TBL holol

223. *b(n)ayad ‘to pay’; BLK bayad, BLS bnayad, TBL mayad

224. *lugasiN ‘peanuts’; BLK lugɔsiN, TBL lɨgasiN

225. *taqu ‘person’; BLK to, BLS to, TBL taquh

226. *lu(h) ‘pestle (rice)’; BLK lu, BLS luh

227. *sdaq ‘pig’; BLK sdɨq, BLS sdɨq, TBL sdoq

228. *kamu ‘pillow’; BLK kamu, TBL kamah

229. *palu ‘to plant’; BLK falɨ, BLS fulɨ, TBL huluh

230. *sɨgwas ‘to play’; BLK sagwas, TBL sɨgwas

231. *[m]dɨk ‘to pound rice’; BLK dak, BLS mdak, TBL mdɨk

232. *d[m]asal ‘pray’; BLK dmasɔl, BLS dmasɔl

233. *dyul ‘to pull’; BLK dyol, BLS dyol

234. *(t,s)ulud ‘to push’; BLS sulud, TBL tulud

235. *(q,')alul ‘raft’; BLK qalul, BLS qalul

236. *'ulan ‘rain’; BLK qulɨn, BLS qulɨn, TBL kulon

237. *lɨwi(s) ‘rainbow’; BLS lawe lawe, TBL lewes

238. *labun ‘rain cloud’; BLK lɔbun, BLS labnaN, TBL lɔbun

239. *quNih ‘rat’; BLK quNeh, BLS quNe, TBL quNeh

240. *luqas ‘rattan’; BLK luqas, BLS luqas, TBL luqɔs

241. *pulaq ‘red’; BLK fulɨq, BLS fulɨq, TBL huloq

242. *(sis)[n]qulit ‘repeat’; BLK qulit, BLS sensulit, TBL nulit

243. *[m]quli' ‘return (home)’; BLK quleq, BLS muleq, TBL mulek

244. *lahuk 'rib'; BLK lohok, BLS lahok, TBL lɔhɔk
245. *palɨy 'rice (unhusked)'; BLK fɔli, BLS fali, TBL halay (husked)
246. *msah 'rice (husked)'; BLK msɨh, BLS msɨ, TBL msoh (unhusked)
247. *k[n]ɨ'ɨn 'rice (cooked)'; BLK knaqɔn, BLS knaqan, TBL kɨn
248. *kwanan 'right (hand)'; BLK kwanan, BLS kwanan, TBL kwanan
249. *tisiN 'ring (for finger)'; BLK tisiN, BLS tisiN, TBL tisiN
250. *qɨqil 'river'; BLK qeqel, BLS yeqel, TBL qel
251. *'atɨp 'roof'; BLK qataf, BLS qataf, TBL ktɨf (kɨtɨf)
252. *dalil ‘root’; BLK dalil, BLS dalil, TBL dɔlil
253. *tali ‘rope’; BLK tali, BLS tali
254. *baluk ‘rotten (fruit)’; BLK balok, BLS balok, TBL bɔlɔk
255. *d[m]alul ‘rub (massage)’; BLK dɔlul, BLS dmalul
256. *[m]qilah ‘to run’; BLK qilah, BLS milah, TBL mloy
257. *kahiq ‘salt’; BLK kahiq, BLS kahiq, TBL kahiq
258. *palɨk ‘sand’; BLK falak, BLS falak, TBL hɨlɨk
259. *lugadi ‘saw’; BLK lugadi, TBL lɨgadih
260. *man ‘say’; BLK man, BLS man, TBL mɔn
261. *la'ɨs ‘scar’; BLK laqɔs, BLS laqas, TBL lɨkɨs
262. *k[m]alus ‘to scratch’; BLK kɔlus, BLS kmalus, TBL kmalus
263. *mahin ‘sea’; BLK mahin, BLS mahin, TBL mɔhin
264. *[m(i)]tɨ'ɨn ‘to see’; BLK tɨqɨn (find), BLS tɨqɨn (mitɨ), TBL mtɔn
265. *pablɨq ‘sell’; BLK fabli, BLS fabli, TBL hbaluq
266. *pitu ‘seven’; BLK fitu, BLS fitu, TBL hituh
267. *tɨmbil ‘sew’; BLK tbel, BLS tambel, TBL tɨmbeh
268. *qaluN ‘shadow’; BLK qaluN, BLS qaluN, TBL qɔluN
269. *gamban ‘sharp (as a knife)’; BLK gamban, BLS gamban
270. *luma' ‘sheath for bolo’; BLK lumɔq, BLS lumaq, TBL lumak

271. ***pukal** 'short (person)'; BLK fukal, BLS fukal, TBL qukɔl

272. ***pukal** 'short (object)'; BLK fukal, BLS fukal

273. ***qabal** 'shoulder'; BLK qabɔl (joint area), TBL qabal

274. ***tɨdu'** 'show, point'; BLK tdoq, TBL tɨdɔk

275. ***(q,')ɨpag** 'sibling-in-law'; BLK fɨg, TBL fog

276. ***tandaq** 'sign'; BLK tandɔq, TBL tandaq

277. ***salaq** 'sin, error'; BLK salaq, TBL saloq

278. ***sudaN** 'to sit'; BLK sudɨN, BLS sudɨN

279. ***nɨm** 'six'; BLK nam, BLS nam, TBL nɨm

280. ***kulit** 'skin (of person)'; BLK kulit, TBL kulit

281. ***lahɨn** 'skinny'; BLK lahɔn, BLS lahan, TBL lɨhɨn

282. ***laNit** 'sky'; BLK laNit, BLS laNit, TBL lɔNit

283. ***pasɨk** 'slave'; BLK fasak, TBL hɨsɨk

284. ***lipan** 'slave'; BLK lifan, BLS lifan

285. ***kudaN** 'to sleep'; BLK kudaN, BLS kudaN

286. ***tukay** 'small (object)'; BLK tukay, BLS tukay

287. ***pɨdi'** 'to smart'; BLK fdeq, TBL kɨdek

288. ***[m]quNɨp** 'to smell'; BLK quNaf, TBL muNɨf

289. ***buk** 'smoke (from fire)'; BLK buk, BLS buk

290. ***madɨl** 'smooth'; BLK mladal, TBL mɨdɨl (slippery)

291. ***qulad** 'snake'; BLK qulad, BLS qulad, TBL qulal

292. ***blatik** 'snare'; BLK blɔtik, BLS blɔtik

293. ***palal bliq** 'sole of foot'; BLK falɨl bliq, BLS falɨl bliq, TBL holol ti

294. ***nawa** 'soul, breath'; BLK nawɔ, TBL nawah

295. ***sabaw** 'soup'; BLK sabɨw, BLS sabɨw, TBL sobow

296. ***masam** 'sour'; BLK masam, BLS masam, TBL msom (as fruit)

297. *daNuw 'span (8 inches)'; BLK daNo, BLS dnaNu, TBL daNaw
298. *kalmamuq 'spider'; BLK kalmamo, BLS kalmamɔq
299. *d[m]ula' 'to spit'; BLK dulɔq, BLS dmulaq, TBL dmulak
300. *dula' 'spittle'; BLK dulɔq, TBL dulak
301. *kɨnamɨs 'squeeze (in hand)'; BLS kanamuq, TBL kɨmmɨs
302. *t[m]ibah 'to stab'; BLK tibɨh, TBL tmiboh
303. *[m]tadag 'to stand'; BLK tadag, BLS tadag, TBL mdaq
304. *blatik 'star'; BLK blatik, BLS blatik, TBL blɔtik
305. *dɨmkɨt 'to stick to'; BLK qadkat, BLS damkat, TBL dɨmkɨt
306. *batu 'stone'; BLK batu, BLS batu, TBL bɔtuh
307. *(san)tulun 'story'; BLK tulɨn, BLS santulɨn, TBL tutul
308. *tluh 'straight'; BLK tluh, BLS tlu
309. *tali 'string'; BLK tali, BLS tali
310. *mgal 'strong'; BLK mgal, BLS mgal
311. *tu'ad 'stump, root'; BLK tuqad, TBL tuhɔd
312. *[m]sɨp 'suck (not breast)'; BLK saf (nsaf), TBL msɨf
313. *tbu 'sugarcane'; BLK tbu, BLS tbu
314. *tah 'summit'; BLK tah (top), BLS di tah bulul
315. *pa(n)luh 'swallow'; BLK floh, BLS fanlo, TBL hɨmlɔh
316. *[m]tuh 'sweat'; BLK tuh, BLS mtu (verb; ktu, noun)
317. *mih 'sweet'; BLK mih, BLS mih, TBL mih
318. *kasilaq 'sweet potato'; BLK kasilɔq, BLS kasilaq
319. *[n]ligo 'swidden'; BLK ligo, BLS nligo
320. *k[m]ahuN 'swim'; BLK kahoN (kmahoN), BLS mahoN, TBL kmɔhuN
321. *qikuN 'tail'; BLK qikoN, BLS qikoN, TBL qikɔN
322. *lɨwak 'tear (from crying)'; BLK lwak, BLS lwak, TBL lɨwɔk

323. *kipan 'teeth'; BLK kifan, BLS kifan

324. *t[m]ulan 'tell'; BLK tulɨn, BLS tmulɨn, TBL tulon

325. *spaluq 'ten'; BLK sfaloq, BLS sfaloq, TBL sfɔlɔq

326. *kanuk 'termite'; BLK kanok, BLS kanok, TBL kasuk

327. *ma(N)pal 'thick (objects)'; BLK maNfɨl, BLS maNfɨl, TBL mfol

328. *pu'ad 'thigh'; BLK fuqad, BLS fuqad, TBL hahah

329. *mNipih 'thin (objects)'; BLK mNifih, BLS mNifi

330. *malinum 'thirst'; BLK malinum (thirsty), BLS malinum

331. *(qa)ni 'this'; BLK qani, TBL nih

332. *suqal 'thorn'; BLK suqɔl, BLS suqal, TBL suqal

333. *mlibu 'thousand'; BLK mlibu, BLS mlibu, TBL libuh

334. *tlu 'three'; BLK tlu, BLS tlu, TBL tluh

335. *bɨk(l)uN 'throat (esophagus)'; BLK bkakoN, BLS bka koN, TBL bɨklɔN

336. *tudaq 'to throw'; BLK tudɔq, TBL tudaq

337. *bat 'throw away'; BLK bat, BLS bat, TBL bɔt

338. *luguN 'thunder'; BLK luguN, TBL luguN

339. *[n]qikat 'tie (tether an animal)'; BLK qikat, BLS nikat

340. *(m)duh qani 'today'; BLK mdu qani, BLS duh qani

341. *t(n,m)alu' bliq 'toe'; BLK tnaloq bliq, BLS tnaloq bliq, TBL tbakal tih

342. *payah 'tomorrow'; BLK fayah, BLS faya, TBL hayah

343. *dila' 'tongue'; BLK dilɔq, BLS dilaq, TBL dilak

344. *bɨnwu 'town, country'; BLK banwɨ, TBL bɨnwuh

345. *dalan 'trail'; BLK dalɔn, BLS dalan, TBL lan

346. *kayu 'tree'; BLK kayu (kayo), BLS kayo, TBL kɔyuh

347. *sa(l)wɨl 'trousers'; BLK salwal, BLS salwal, TBL sɨwɨl

348. *tɨ'u 'true'; BLK teqo (toqo), TBL takun (tahuh)

349. *(q,')ɨpun 'trunk, origin'; BLK fun, TBL fun (owner)

350. *(pa)tbiliN 'turn, revolve (intr)'; BLK tbiliN, BLS fatbiliN

351. *(p,k)nu 'turtle'; BLK fnu, BLS fnu, TBL knuh

352. *lɨwu paluq 'twenty'; BLK lwɨ faloq, BLS lwɨ faloq, TBL lɨwu fɔlɔq

353. *lɨwu 'two'; BLK lwɨ, BLS lwɨ, TBL lɨwuh

354. *duNan 'under'; BLK duNɔn, BLS duNan

355. *myak 'up'; BLK myak, BLS myak

356. *tlɨqil 'urine'; BLK tleq, BLS kleq, TBL tleqel

357. *kiq 'vagina'; BLK kiq, TBL kiq

358. *qulat 'vein (blood)'; BLK qulat, BLS qulat, TBL qulat

359. *[m]qutaq 'vomit'; BLK qutɔq, BLS mutaq

360. *patan 'to wait'; BLK fatɔh, BLS fatan, TBL hatan

361. *[m]qaguw 'to walk'; BLK qɔgu (go), BLS magu, TBL mogow

362. *t[m]ana' 'to walk'; BLK tmanɔq (go on foot), TBL tmɔnɔk

363. *didiN 'wall (of house)'; BLK didiN, BLS didiN

364. *[m]puk 'wash clothes'; BLK fuk, BLS mfok, TBL mfuk

365. *[n]qalub 'wash hands'; BLK qalob, BLS nalob, TBL mɔlɔb

366. *qɨqil 'water'; BLK qeqel, BLS yeqel, TBL qel

367. *kabuN 'water container (bamboo)'; BLK kaboN, TBL kɔbɔN

368. *pikuN 'waterfall'; BLK fikoN, BLS fikoN, TBL hikɔN

369. *m(l)uNay 'weak'; BLK mluNay, TBL muNɔy

370. *[n]qabɨl 'weave cloth'; BLK qabal, BLS nabal, TBL mɨwɨl

371. *[n]qanam 'weave a mat'; BLK qanɨm, BLS nanɨm, TBL monom

372. *gustap 'ɨdaw 'west'; BLK gusdaf du, BLS gustaf qi duh, TBL dɨsdɨf kdaw

373. *pɨpiq 'wet'; BLK fafeq, BLS fafeq, TBL hefeq

374. *byu 'what-you-may-call-it'; BLK byɨ, BLS byɨ, TBL bɔyuh

375. *kilan 'when'; BLK kilɨn, BLS kilɨn (if a question), TBL kilon

376. *nuq 'where'; BLK nɨq, BLS nɨq, TBL sɨh

377. *bukay 'white'; BLK bukɔy, BLS bukay, TBL bukay

378. *si(m,n)tu 'who'; BLK simto, BLS sinto

379. *mabal 'wide'; BLK mabɔl (space), BLS mabal

380. *balu 'widow'; BLK balu, BLS balu, TBL bɔluh

381. *ya'ɨn 'wife'; BLK yaqɔn, BLS yaqan, TBL yɨhɨn

382. *(lɨ)nus 'wind'; BLK nus, BLS nus, TBL lɨnɔs

383. *papak 'wing'; BLK fɔfɔk, BLS fafak, TBL hafak

384. *t[m]apɨp 'winnow'; BLK taqɔf (throw up and down), BLS tmaqaf, TBL tmɨqɨf

385. *baqi 'woman'; BLK biq, TBL bɔqih

386. *libun 'woman (female)'; BLK libun, BLS libun, TBL libun

387. *kayu 'wood'; BLK kayu, BLS kayo, TBL kɔyuh

388. *dlag 'woods (forest)'; BLK dlag, BLS glag, TBL dlag

389. *t(n)aluq 'word, language'; BLK taluq, BLS tnaluq

390. *[m]qimuq 'to work'; BLK qimoq, BLS mimoq, TBL mɔq nmɔq

391. *qubi 'yam'; BLK qabi, TBL qubih

392. *palɨy 'year'; BLK fɔli, BLS fali, TBL halay

393. *mlɨlil 'yellow'; BLK mlalel, BLS mlalel, TBL melel

394. *malpabi 'yesterday'; BLK malfɔbi, BLS malfabi

NOTES

[1] Pronounced with an intervocalic glottal stop as /blaqan/.

[2] Non-Tboli and non-Blaan speakers in the past have referred to these peoples as Tagabili and Bilaan respectively. The people, however, refer to themselves as Tboli and Blaan.

[3] Current population figures for these groups are not available at this time, but each group numbered in excess of twenty thousand in the late 1950s when the data upon which this paper is based were gathered.

[4] These characteristics of these southern Mindanao languages were pointed out to me by David Thomas in private conversation in December 1979.

[5] Conant found that 'in the southern group of f languages, viz, Tiruray, Bilan, and Tagakaolo, the p sound does not exist, but has everywhere been shifted to the corresponding spirant f' ([1908] 1973:214).

[6] Without the benefit of the Tboli data, Conant found that 'the Philippine f ... is so slightly breathed that it approaches the sound of a mere aspirate, and it is doubtless this same quality of the Polynesian f that has caused it to become h in Hawaiian and Tahitian' ([1908] 1973:217).

[7] Compare PSM *(q,')ɨpat 'four' with PAND *qɨ(m)pat, PANDLO *he(m)pat (Wurm and Wilson 1975).

[8] Just three weeks before the deadline for finishing this project, I received from the Philippine offices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics the phonemic statements of the two Blaan languages. With these phonemic statements, I was able to check the accuracy of the transcription of a few of the vocabulary items in the word lists in Reid 1971.

I discovered that some of the vowel reflexes in Koronadal Blaan were transcribed inconsistently. The transcription that was the most inconsistent was that of the vowels /a/ and /ɔ/. In Deans' statement of Koronadal Blaan (1955), the vowel /a/ (that is, the low open central unrounded vocoid) is written with a typed 'a' and thus looks like the vowel typed on a typewriter. The Koronadal vowel /ɔ/ (that is, the low close back rounded vocoid) is written with a cursive style 'a'. In Reid's volume, each of the two vowels is transcribed both properly and improperly in a sort of free variation. The vowels in the following examples are written in the orthography used in this study:

	'dry'	'wing'	'neck'	'star'
Dean	kafɔq	fɔfɔk	liqal	blatik
Reid	kafaq	fafak	liqal	blɔtik

In addition, there are some inconsistencies in the transcriptions of other vowels in Koronadal Blaan. For instance, Dean lists kayo as the word for 'tree', while Reid transcribed it as kayu.

In Sarangani Blaan there is a problem of a somewhat different kind. According to Blackburn and McLachlin 1960, the vowels /a/ and /ɔ/ were found to contrast in identical environments. However, they decided to write these two vowels with the same symbol, 'a', and depend on context to make the meaning clear. Reid also followed this convention--a convention that obscures the contrast between the two vowels. Examples of the way these vowels were written are the following:

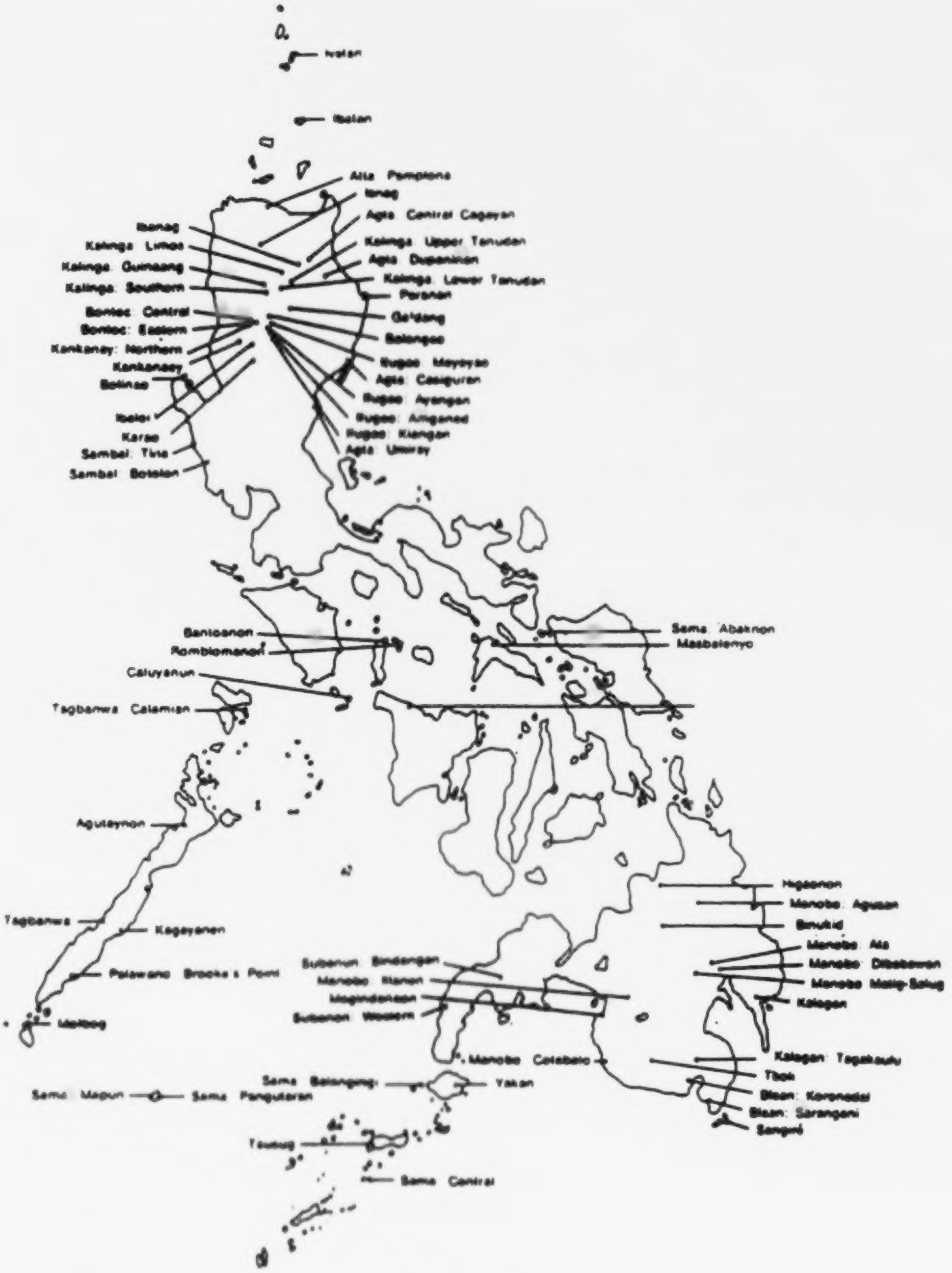
	'father'	'crow'	'heavy'	'comb'
Phonemic statement	mɔq	wɔk	blɔt	swat
Reid	maq	wak	blat	swat

Thus, because of the few sets that were directly verifiable in all three languages, no claim can be made as to the accuracy of the vowel reconstructions in this paper. Without more reliable data, no rigorous application of the comparative method is possible at this point.

[9] With more reliable data the /ɔ/ reflex of *a would probably be found to be influenced by laryngeals, velars, or labials. But because of the obscurity ot the reflexes of this protovowel in BLK, BLS, and TBL, there is confusion in the correspondence sets.

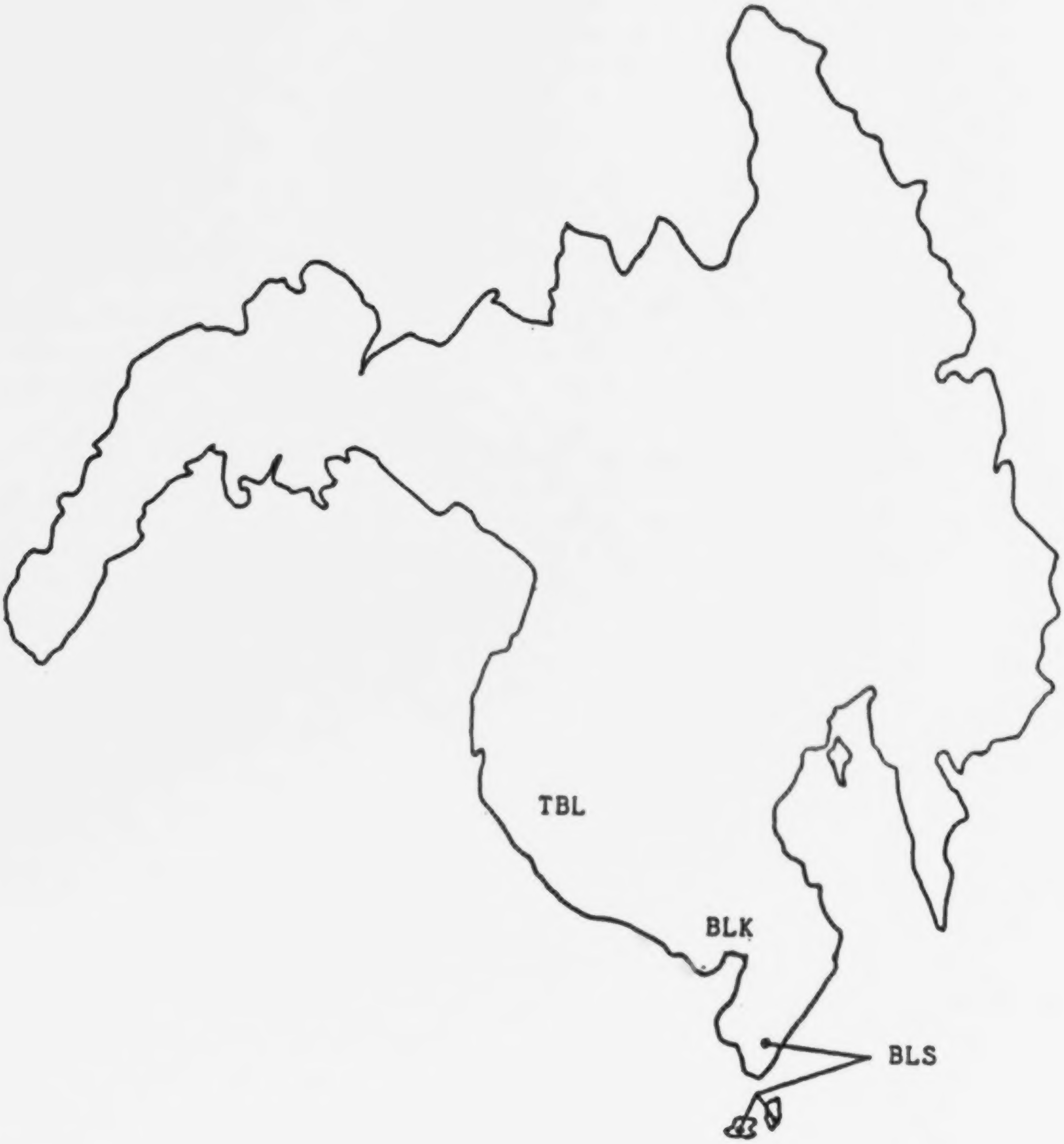
APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Map of the Philippines showing some minor languages


Ivatan
Ibatan
Atta Pamplona
Isnag
Agta: Central Cagayan
Ibanag
Kalinga: Limos
Kalinga: Upper Tanudan
Agta: Dupaninan
Kalinga: Guinaang
Kalinga: Southern
Kalinga: Lower Tanudan
Paranan
Bontoc: Central
Ga'dang
Bontoc: Eastern
Balangao
Kankanay: Northern
Kankanaey
Ifugao: Mayoyao
Agta: Casiguran
Bolinao
Ifugao: Ayangan
Ibaloi
Ifugao: Amganad
Karao
Ifugao: Kiangan
Sambal: Tina
Agta: Umiray
Sambal: Botolan
Bantoanon
Sama: Abaknon
Romblomanon
Masbatenyo
Caluyanun
Tagbanwa: Calamian
Agutaynon
Higaonon
Manobo: Agusan
Tagbanwa
Kagayanen
Binukid
Manobo: Ata
Subanun: Sindangan
Manobo: Dibabawon
Palawano: Brooke's Point
Manobo: Ilianen
Manobo: Matig-Salug
Maguindanaon
Kalagan
Molbog
Subanon: Western
Manobo: Cotabato
Kalagan: Tagakaulu
Tboli
Sama: Balangingi
Yakan
Sama: Mapun
Sama: Pangutaran
Blaan: Koronadal
Blaan: Sarangani
Sangiril
Tausug
Sama: Central

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix B: Map of Mindanao showing the location of the Southern Mindanaon languages



SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrams, Norman. 1963. Historical development of Bilaan vowels and some consonant reflexes in Bilaan and related dialects. The Philippine Sociological Review 11.147-54.

Allison, E. Joe. 1979. Proto-Danao: A comparative study of Maranao, Maguindanao, and Iranon. (Papers in Philippine Linguistics no. 10.) Pacific Linguistics, series A, no. 55, 53-112. Canberra: The Australian National University.

Blackburn, Barbara, and Betty McLachlin. 1960. Phonemic statement of Sarangani Bilaan. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Typescript.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. Language. New York: Henry Holt.

Conant, Carlos Everett. 1908. 'F' and 'V' in Philippine languages. Bureau of Science Division of Ethnology Publications, no. 5, vol. 5, part 3.135-41. [Reprinted in Gonzalez, Llamzon, and Otanes, 213-19.]

_____. 1910. The RGH law in Philippine languages. Journal of the American Oriental Society 31.70-85. [Reprinted in Gonzalez, Llamzon, and Otanes, 220-32.]

_____. 1912. The pepet law in Philippine languages. Anthropos 7.920-47. [Reprinted in Gonzalez, Llamzon, and Otanes, 246-79.]

_____. 1916. Indonesian l in Philippine languages. Journal of the American Oriental Society 36.181-96. [Reprinted in Gonzalez, Llamzon, and Otanes, 233-45.]

Dahl, Otto Christian. 1976. Proto-Austronesian. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, 15. London: Curzon Press.

Dean, James, and Gladys Dean. 1955. The phonemes of Bilaan. The Philippine Journal of Science 84.311-22.

Dyen, Isidore. 1965. A lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian languages. Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics. Memoir 19. Baltimore: The Waverly Press.

Elkins, Richard E. 1974. A Proto-Manobo word list. Oceanic Linguistics 13.601-41.

Gallman, Andrew Franklin. 1974. A reconstruction of Proto-Mansakan. Arlington: University of Texas M. A. thesis.

Gonzalez, Andrew B., Teodoro Llamzon, and Fe Otanes. 1973 (eds.) Readings in Philippine linguistics. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

Healey, Alan. 1961. Dyen's laryngeals in some Philippine languages. Working Papers, S.I.L., 5.53-64. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. [Reprinted in Gonzalez, Llamzon, and Otanes, 363-73.]

Hoenigswald, Henry. 1960. Language change and linguistic reconstruction. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lindquist, Alice, Vivian Forsberg, and Alan Healey. 1960. The phonemes of Tagabili. The Philippine Journal of Science 88.225-43.

Longacre, Robert E. 1957. Proto-Mixtecan. Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, 5. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

_____. 1967. Systemic comparison and reconstruction. Handbook of Middle American Indians, ed. by Norman McQuown, 5.117-59. Austin: University of Texas.

McKaughan, Howard. 1971. Minor languages of the Philippines. Current trends in linguistics, ed. by Thomas Sebeok, 8.155-67.

Reid, Lawrence A. 1971 (ed.) Philippine minor languages: Word lists and phonologies. Oceanic Linguistics special publication, 8. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Simons, Gary. 1977. A package of computer programs for the analysis of language survey word lists. Working Papers for the Language Variation and Limits to Communication Project, 7. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.

Thomas, David, and Alan Healey. 1962. Some Philippine language subgroupings: A lexicostatistical study. Anthropological Linguistics 4.21-33.

Thomas, David, and Richard Gieser. 1974. A decimal classification for Philippine languages. Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez, ed. by Andrew B. Gonzalez, FSC, 64-70. Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

Voegelin, C. F., and F. M. Voegelin. 1977. Classification and index of the world's languages. New York: Elsevier.

Wurm, S. A., and B. Wilson. 1975. English finderlist of reconstructions in Austronesian languages (post-Brandstetter). Pacific Linguistics, series C, no. 33. Canberra: The Australian National University.

Zorc, R. David. 1977. The Bisayan dialects of the Philippines: Subgrouping and reconstruction. Pacific Linguistics, series C, no. 44. Canberra: The Australian National University.

PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

The new items which appear in this list are marked with an asterisk(*)

Publications are available at the following:

(a) Dallas Center Book Store, 7500 West Camp Wisdom Road, Dallas, TX 75236.

(b) Human Relations Area Files, Box 2054 Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520.

(c) Philippine Subscription Service (PSSC) (Central Subscription Service), Don Mariano Marcos Ave., U.P. Diliman, Q.C.

(d) Summer Institute of Linguistics, Publications Department, Box 2270, Manila, Philippines.

(e) University of Hawaii Press, 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, HI 96822.

The above entities are referred to in the following list of publications by (a),(b),(c),(d), and (e) respectively. Further abbreviations are: mf-microfiche, pb-paperback, OP-out of print.

Anthologies

AN ANTHOLOGY OF ILIANEN MANOBO FOLKTALES, by Hazel J. Wrigglesworth. 1981. Humanities Series No.11. Cebu City, Philippines: University of San Carlos. 199 pp. (c,d)

Bibliographies

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS, PHILIPPINES, 1953-1984, compiled by Marjorie Cook, Heather Kilgour, and Jeanne Miller. 1985. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 212 pp. (c,d)

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS, Vol.1:1935-1975, compiled by Alan C. Wares. 1979. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. xxvii, 317 pp. (a)

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS, Vol. 2:1976-1982, compiled by Alan C. Wares. 1985. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. xx, 232 pp. (a)

Supplement to the BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS (to December 1985), compiled by Alan C. Wares. 1986. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 100 pp. (a)

Dictionaries and works on lexicon

A BATAD IFUGAO VOCABULARY, by Leonard E. Newell. 1968. New Haven, CT: Human Area Relations Files. 230 pp. (b)

MANOBO-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, by Richard Elkins. 1968. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No.3. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press. 356 pp. (e)

TAUSUG-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, by Irene Hassan, Nurhadan Halud, Seymour and Lois Ashley. 1975. Sulu Studies 4. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 789 pp. (OP)

*THE ELABORATION OF A TECHNICAL LEXICON OF PILIPINO, by Alfonso O. Santiago. 1985. Studies in Philippine Linguistics, Vol.5, No.2 Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 267 pp. (c,d), mf 85-0229 (a)

Discourse

CENTRAL BONTOC: SENTENCE, PARAGRAPH AND DISCOURSE, by Lawrence Reid. 1970. SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields No.27. Norman, OK: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 185 pp. pb(a,d) mf 78-0044 (a)

PHILIPPINE DISCOURSE AND PARAGRAPH STUDIES in memory of Betty McLachlin, ed. by Robert E. Longacre. 1971. Pacific Linguistics Series C, No.22. Australian National Library. 366 pp. (OP)

PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES: DISCOURSE, PARAGRAPH AND SENTENCE STRUCTURE, Robert E. Longacre. 1968. SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields No.21. 454 pp. pb(a,d) mf 74-0029 (a)

General

LINGUISTICS ACROSS CONTINENTS: Studies in honor of Richard S. Pittman, ed. by Andrew B. Gonzalez, FSC and David Thomas. 1981. Linguistic Society of the Philippines Monograph Series No.11. Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 234 pp. (c,d)

MORE ON THE DEEP AND SURFACE GRAMMAR OF INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONS, by D. Lee Ballard, Robert J. Conrad and Robert E. Longacre. 1971. Language Data, Asian-Pacific Series No.1. Huntington Beach, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 59 pp. (a,c,d) mf 74-0013 ISBN 0-88312-301-0 (a)

PAPERS IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS. 1964. Oceanic Linguistics Vol.1, No.3. Honolulu, HI. (OP)

PAPERS ON PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES No.1. 1963. Manila: Institute for Language Teaching and Summer Institute of Linguistics. (d)

Grammars

AN AGTA GRAMMAR, by Phyllis M. Healey. 1960. Manila: Institute of National Language and Summer Institute of Linguistics. 103 pp. (OP)

A DESCRIPTION OF HILIGAYNON SYNTAX, by Elmer Wolfenden. 1975. SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields No.46. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, Summer Institute of Linguistics. 170 pp. pb(a) mf 78-0058

A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF BOTOLAN SAMBAL, by Evan L. Antworth. 1979. Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph Issue No.8. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. 136 pp. (c,d)

AN IVATAN SYNTAX, by Lawrence A. Reid. 1966. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No.2. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press. 160 pp. (e)

MAJOR GRAMMATICAL PATTERNS OF WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO, by Richard E. Elkins. 1970. SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields No.26. 76 pp. pb (OP) mf 78-0023

MAMANWA GRAMMAR, by Jeanne and Helen Miller. 1976. Language Data, Asian-Pacific Series No.8. Huntington Beach, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 194 pp. (OP) mf 78-0009 ISBN 0-88312-308-8 (a)

NOTES ON BALANGAO GRAMMAR, by Joanne Shetler. 1976. Language Data, Asian-Pacific Series No.9. Huntington Beach, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 248 pp. (OP) mf 78-0037 ISBN 0-88312-209-X (a)

NOTES ON MANSAKA GRAMMAR, by Gordon and Thelma Svelmoe. 1974. Language Data, Asian-Pacific Series No.6. Huntington Beach, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 141 pp. (OP) mf 74-0018 ISBN 0-88312-306-1 (a)

***SAMA VERBAL SEMANTICS: CLASSIFICATION, DERIVATION AND INFLECTION**, by Charles Walton. 1986. Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph Issue No. 25. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. 140 pp. (c,d)

SARANGANI MANOBO: AN INTRODUCTORY GUIDE, by Carl D. DuBois. 1976. Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph Issue No.6. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. 169 pp. (c,d)

A TBOLI GRAMMAR, by Doris Porter. 1977. Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph Issue No.7. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. 354 pp. (c)

Historical-comparative studies

***CULTURE CONTACT AND LANGUAGE CONVERGENCE**, by A. Kemp Pallesen. 1985. Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph Issue No. 24. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. 365 pp. (c,d)

Kinship studies

*A SAMPLING OF PHILIPPINE KINSHIP PATTERNS, by Richard E. Elkins and Gail R. Hendrickson. 1984. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 239 pp. (c,d)

Language learning

INTENSIVE ILOCANO COURSE, by Howard McKaughan and Jannette Forster. 1971. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. (OP)

INTENSIVE TAGALOG CONVERSATION COURSE, ed. by Elmer Wolfenden Jr. and Rufino Alejandro. 1966. Summer Institute of Linguistics and Institute of National Language, 3rd ed. (OP)

Texts

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISICS, Vol.2, No.2, ed. by Casilda Edrial-Luzares and Austin Hale. 1978. Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 295 pp. (OP) mf 81-0090 (a). Currently available as a xeroxed copy (d)

*STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS, Supplementary Series: Philippine Texts, No.1, Upper Tanudan Kalinga Texts, compiled by Sherri Brainard. 1985. Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 128 pp. (c,d)

Word lists

LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTHERN GATEWAY: CHAVACANO, SINAMA, TAUSUG, YAKAN, and including English and Pilipino. 1979. Manila. A joint project of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 117 pp. (c,d)

PHILIPPINE MINOR LANGUAGES: WORD LISTS AND PHONOLOGIES, ed. by Lawrence A. Reid. 1971. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications No.8. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press. 241 pp. (e)

Workpapers

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS, Vol.1, No.1, ed. by Casilda Edrial-Luzares and Austin Hale. 1977. Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 172 pp. (OP) mf 81-0088 (a)

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS, Vol.1, No.2, ed. by Casilda Edrial-Luzares and Austin Hale. 1977. Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 203 pp. (d), mf 81-0089 (a)

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS, Vol.2, No.1, ed. by Casilda Edrial-Luzares and Austin Hale. 1978. Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 203 pp. (d), mf 81-0087 (a)

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS, Vol.3, No.1, ed. by Casilda Edrial-Luzares and Austin Hale. 1979. Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 231 pp. (c,d), mf 81-0091 (a)

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS, Vol.3, No.2, ed. by Casilda Edrial-Luzares and Austin Hale. 1979. Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 222 pp. (c,d), mf 81-0092 (a)

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS, Vol.4, No.1, ed. by Casilda Edrial-Luzares and Austin Hale. 1980. Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 143 pp. (c,d), mf 81-0093 (a)

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS, Vol.4, No.2, ed. by Fe T. Otanes and Austin Hale. 1983. Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 167 pp. (c,d), mf 84-0329 (a)

***STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS**, Vol.5, No.1, ed. by Fe T. Otanes and Austin Hale. 1984. Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 199 pp. (c,d), mf 85-0204 (a)

***STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS**, Vol.6, No.1, ed. by Fe T. Otanes and Austin Hale. 1986. Manila: The Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. 215 pp. (c,d)